

The Inter- Parliamentary Union

By Fredrik Sterzel



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Preface

This book appears due to an initiative of the Swedish Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The author is an Associate Professor of Constitutional and Administrative Law at the University of Uppsala. Since some years he acts as secretary to the Standing Committee of the Swedish Parliament, which is dealing with constitutional questions and local government. In 1966, the author was also appointed secretary to the Inter-Parliamentary Group of the Parliament. This Group celebrated its 75th anniversary in 1967, and in connection with this the secretary undertook to write a booklet on the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Swedish Group and the co-operation between the Nordic Groups within the Union. The manuscript became more comprehensive than expected due to the fact that literature concerning the Union is rather scarce. Thus, the description had to be based largely on the author's own research. The Swedish Group considered that this work might be of interest to a wider readership than those possessing a command of Swedish. This opinion was shared by the Secretary General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, who visited Stockholm in connection with the anniversary. Thus, it was decided to publish the book in English. The parts concerning only Sweden and the other Nordic countries have been deleted. Furthermore, the description has been carried forward as to include the Lima Conference in September 1968. The translation has been made by Mr. John Hogg, Stockholm, and checked by i.a. the Assistant Secretary General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Mr. James Douglas. Financial support has been granted by the Swedish Council for Social Science Research.

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Introduction

The aim of the Inter-Parliamentary Union is to promote personal contacts between members of Parliaments of all countries, to support the development of democratic and parliamentary institutions, and to work for peace and international cooperation.

The Union consists of national groups formed within the Parliaments of different countries. It has at present 71 members. All political systems can be represented in the Union on the sole condition that the country concerned has some form of permanent legislative or consultative representative assembly. A large number of single-party States, accordingly, have member groups in the Union, as have other countries with constitutions which differ from the common notion of parliamentary government.

As will thus be evident the Union is a non-governmental organization. It has an unofficial character despite its association with the Parliaments. This implies that the Union cannot take any decisions binding on the States, or even on their Parliaments. It works, instead, through the adoption of resolutions containing statements of opinion or concrete proposals on various subjects.

The most important organs of the Union are: the *National Groups*, which are the members and the basis of the Union; the *Conference*, at which delegates from the various groups shall, in principle, meet every year; the *Council*, which consists of two members from each group and meets in connection with the Conferences and in principle on one further occasion every year; the *Executive Committee* with eleven members from different groups; the *Study Committees* with one member from each group; and the *Inter-Parliamentary Bureau*, which is the permanent Secretariat of the Union under the direction of the Secretary General.

The Union was formed in 1889 as a part of the peace movement. In the course of time it has been radically transformed: in respect of composition, activities, policy, organization, working procedures, etc. What remains of the original organization is chiefly its link with national Parliaments, its unofficial character, and its striving for

peace. This book contains an account of the development of the Inter-Parliamentary Union and of its present organization and procedures.

The book is compiled as follows. An account is first given of the development of the Union as an international organization. This is done in three chapters, one concerning the pre-war, one the inter-war and one the post-war period. A fourth chapter contains a brief survey of the resolutions adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Conferences. Thereafter follows an account of the present organization and procedures on the basis of the Union's Statutes and other regulations. Finally some words are added on the actual situation of the Union.

Chapter I

The Origin of the IPU and its Development up to the Outbreak of the First World War

The idea of achieving an organized form of cooperation in the cause of peace between parliamentarians in different countries is older than the IPU. It is traceable some 20 years further back in the history of the peace movement, to about the year 1870. The thought was brought up in various connections by several of the champions of the peace movement. None of them, however, exercised any real influence on the foundation of the IPU, and no serious attempt was made to realize their ideas. Instead, an Englishman, William Randal Cremer, and a Frenchman, Frédéric Passy, stand out as the founders of the Union, and the events leading up to its foundation commenced in 1887. This year will be taken as the starting point and no attention will be paid to the ideas and suggestions which originated previously to this date.

Background and foundation

The IPU was formed as a part of the organized peace movement, but at the beginning its aims were strictly limited. The intention was not to create a new forum to strive in general ways for peace, a sort of precursor to the League of Nations or United Nations. The IPU in fact developed in this way in the years before the war, but its founders originally had a definite aim in view: to strive for the solution of international disputes by means of arbitration. The immediate aim when the first meetings were held, meetings which were continued in the Inter-Parliamentary Conferences, now 56 in number, was in fact even more limited. It was to strive, by a collective parliamentary action, for the establishment of arbitration treaties between the USA and, in the first place, France, and secondly Great Britain. Efforts in this direction were made simultaneously in the House of Commons and the Chamber of Deputies. The

IPU was born from the decision to combine efforts in a common action.

William Randal CREMER was elected to the House of Commons in 1885. He was a carpenter by trade, grew up in poor circumstances and had come into politics via the Trade Union Movement and his work on a new franchise reform. His first important work in the work for peace was during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870—71, when he founded the Workmen's Peace Committee, which later became the International Arbitration League. Instead of working generally for the idea of arbitration he devoted himself, as a member of the House of Commons, to trying to bring about an arbitration agreement between the USA and Great Britain. After conferring with the American financier and pacifist Andrew Carnegie, he organized a delegation of Members of Parliament and Trade Unionists who went to Washington and handed over a petition to President Cleveland. This event aroused great interest in the USA and, as a result, during the following year a large number of proposals and petitions in favour of international arbitration were submitted to Congress. The only immediate result was that the Senate passed a resolution generally recommending arbitration agreements. This was, however, of decisive importance for the foundation of the IPU.

Frédéric PASSY had a different background to Cremer. He belonged to a wealthy family and passed his life mainly as a scholar of independent means during the Second Empire. Firm as he was in his liberal opinions he refused all public office, as he would not swear an oath of allegiance to the man who had carried out the coup d'état of 1851. In 1867 he formed a peace society, later called the French Society of Friends of Peace. Elected deputy for Paris in 1881 he soon became known as a sharp critic of colonial policy and injustices to "inferior" races. In 1887 he and 20 other deputies submitted a motion in favour of an arbitration agreement, but the competent committee decided to adjourn the question provisionally. In the same year the French Foreign Minister received a petition signed by a number of people, among them 122 deputies, requesting negotiations with the USA on an arbitration agreement, and in the following year a new motion was supported by 44 deputies. This time it was especially recommended that steps be taken to reach an agreement with the USA. This new initiative had greater success

than its predecessors in so much as it was decided to take the motion into consideration, with Frédéric Passy as rapporteur. As, however, the parliamentary session was almost at an end, no positive result could be achieved in the time available.

In this situation, with powerful forces at work both in Great Britain and France to reach an arbitration agreement with the USA, and when a certain amount of success had been achieved on both sides, the first contact was made between Cremer and Passy, which was to result in the formation of the IPU. Cremer wrote to his French colleague in June 1888 and suggested a meeting between delegates from France and Great Britain for discussions on peace and international arbitration. After a preliminary visit to Paris by Cremer, the meeting took place on 31 October 1888, exactly one year after the British deputation had been received by President Cleveland. Seven British M.P.'s and 25 French deputies took part in the meeting held at the Grand Hôtel in Paris with Passy as chairman. During the debate several speakers stressed that—due to political reasons, which may be ignored here—there were greater chances of obtaining an arbitration agreement between the USA and France than between the USA and Great Britain. A previously prepared declaration, culminating in five resolutions, was unanimously adopted. The sixth resolution stated that a new meeting was to be held in the next year in order to continue the work which had commenced. To that meeting should be invited not only members of the American, British and French Parliaments, but also other parliamentarians “known as supporters of the same ideas”. The only alteration made in the declaration laid before the meeting was on this last point. Originally the text referred only to the three named Parliaments, but in accordance with desires expressed from several quarters during the debate the circle was widened so that the way was prepared for international conferences in the true sense.

No formal decision was made as to where the new meeting was to be held but it seems to have been a foregone conclusion that it would be in Paris. And in fact the first Inter-Parliamentary Conference was opened at the Hôtel Continental on 29 June 1889. It lasted for two days. The number of participants was so far from coming up to expectations that the meeting almost appeared to be another Franco-British manifestation. In addition to the 55 French

and 28 British delegates, the meeting was attended by five Italians and by one representative from each of Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, Liberia, Spain and the USA. This minute American participation was a special disappointment but at any rate nine nations were represented and the international character of the Conference was undeniable.

The Conference adopted seven resolutions. Three dealt with arbitration questions, the fourth expressed the parliamentary roots of the meeting and its basic idea in words which may seem laboured to modern readers, but bearing in mind the ideological situation of the day are worth quoting:

The conduct of Governments tending more and more to be solely the expression of ideas and wishes manifested by the citizens in general, it is for the electors through their own free will to direct the policy of their country towards justice, law and the fraternity of peoples.

The fifth resolution from 1889 may be regarded as the document which founded the IPU. It runs as follows: "Inter-Parliamentary meetings will take place each year in one of the towns of the various countries represented at the Conference. The next meeting will be held in London."

The sixth resolution entrusted to a committee the task of preparing for the next Conference, and the seventh conferred the right of attendance at future IPU meetings on all those who had attended the Paris Conference, even if not re-elected as members of their respective Parliaments. This latter rule was adopted in the case of Frédéric Passy who left the Chamber of Deputies in the same year.

The development of the IPU into a permanent organization

If the decision of 1889 concerning annual conferences may be regarded as the document which founded the IPU, it must nevertheless be said that the basis was extremely insecure. All the distinctive signs of an established organization, such as statutes, board of administration and name were still lacking. The chief implication of the decision was the intention to create out of the first IPU meeting what is known in international law as a standing conference. A temporary committee was nominated to deal with the problems involved in the preparation and convening of the next Conference, but no permanent organization was set up. Another important factor

was that the initiative was taken by people in their private capacity, and that the Conference thus had a completely unofficial character, although every delegate was, or had been, a member of his own Parliament. The IPU has retained this status and has thus not been transformed into an inter-governmental organization. On the other hand, the transition from a standing conference to a permanently established organization took place fairly rapidly. The basic decisions to this effect were made at the next four Conferences and the ultimate step was taken in 1894 when the first Statutes were adopted.

As mentioned previously, the second Conference was held in London in July 1890, with the same number of foreign delegates as before (39), representing 11 nations. The founder States were represented except the USA, Liberia and Spain, and there were in addition delegates from Austria, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden.

The Conference adopted four resolutions in favour of international arbitration and repeated the decision about annual conferences. In addition, a special resolution recommended that an "Inter-Parliamentary Committee" should be founded in every country "so as to exchange ideas and also with a view to disputes which could arise". This was the first initiative to organize the National Groups on which the Union is now built. The wording of the resolution indicates that the drafters thought it possible that the Committees would be able to play an active peacemaking role in future disputes.

The third Conference was held in Rome in November 1891, and 17 States were represented; Portugal, Rumania, Serbia and Switzerland for the first time. The number of delegates is said to have been considerably larger than at the previous meetings, but there are no exact figures available.

Strangely enough, the Conference did not adopt any resolution on arbitration, but the main result was a long resolution on the question of internal organization, based on two approved motions. To begin with, the Conference declared that it established its annual Steering Committee as an "Inter-Parliamentary Committee charged with taking the necessary measures to solve peacefully any possible conflict". This was a new expression for the previous thoughts of an active effort for peace, but proved to be without practical significance. Furthermore, the recommendation of the previous Conference concerning the formation of Inter-Parliamentary Committees in

the different Parliaments was repeated. Finally, a motion introduced by Frédéric Passy and the Marquis de Pandolfi, and opposed by several members, including William Randal Cremer, was passed to the effect that there should be established a "General Secretariat which should function as an office of archives and statistics, and serve as a liaison point and an information bureau for all parliamentary committees and propose questions to be brought before the Conferences". It was decided that a Secretary General should be elected annually by the Conference and that he should have the right to locate the Secretary General's Office in his own city. The opponents of this new order considered it premature to create a permanent organization and pointed out the expenditure involved. Owing to this opposition, no decision on expenditure was arrived at. Pandolfi was elected Secretary General for the first year.

The Conference in Rome was an important event for the IPU. In addition to the resolution on organization, it was decided to include on the agenda for the next meeting the question of the organization of an international arbitration court. This decision may not seem very remarkable, but it was an important first indication of a changed direction in the work of the Conferences. The first meetings have been characterized in the literature as great propaganda meetings for international arbitration. The Rome Conference implied no change in this respect but for the first time it was decided to place a concrete, constructive task on the agenda. This initiative marks the beginning of rise both in reputation and influence of the Conferences.

The fourth Conference was held in Berne in August 1892 with delegates from 13 nations, including 76 from foreign countries. The main task was to complete the organizational work which had been commenced in the previous year. The result was a long resolution divided into five paragraphs. The first paragraph set out the aim, which was to work for international arbitration and to deal with other international questions of general interest relating to arbitration. This paragraph gives for the first time an official name to the organization, the "Inter-Parliamentary Conference for International Arbitration". The other paragraphs dealt with the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau, which is counted as having been established in that year. One thing, however, should be pointed out. The designation "Bureau" may comprise two different things, an office or an execu-

tive committee. The Bureau is now an office, but the decision of 1892 intended it to be a combination of both. In the resolution it was stated that a permanent central bureau was to be founded with the name "Inter-Parliamentary Bureau for International Arbitration" and with headquarters at Berne. It was to consist of five to ten members, elected at each Conference from different delegations. A Swiss representative was to be President, with powers of "Administrator" of the Bureau. The function of the Bureau was to strive for the formation of "National Parliamentary Groups"—this term now takes the place of the Inter-Parliamentary Committees—to serve as the central organization for the groups, to convoke Conferences and to see that their resolutions were followed, to take care of the archives and generally to take all necessary measures to promote the aims of the Conference. The costs were to be borne by the national groups in proportion to the population of their countries.

The first President and Administrator of the Bureau was the Swiss parliamentarian Albert GOBAT, Chairman of the Swiss Group and President of the Conference, for many years Minister of Education in the Canton of Berne. He held the post until 1909, when the first President in the modern sense and the first salaried non-parliamentarian Secretary General were appointed. Outside the Union as well Gobat made important contributions within the peace movement and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1902. This prize had been given to Frédéric Passy the previous year, and the next year's award went to William Randal Cremer.

Four other resolutions were adopted by the Berne Conference. Two dealt with arbitration questions, the other two deserve to be mentioned as steps in the development of the organization. One expressed the desire for an international conference on the question of the protection for private property at sea in wartime. This was the first time that a concrete question, not dealing with international arbitration, was taken up. Through the other resolution an arrangement was made for a committee of six members to examine a Swiss proposal for measures of different kinds to improve the relations between nations. This decision contained the first embryo of the Study Committees which have now for many years played so great a part in the work of the IPU.

The Norwegian capital was to have been the meeting-place for

the fifth Conference in 1893, but on account of tension between Norway and Sweden the Conference was cancelled. The next meeting was held instead in 1894 at the Hague, with representatives from 15 countries. The number of foreign delegates was, however, only 52. As previously mentioned, the first Statutes were adopted at this meeting. The following should be noted concerning the contents. The name of the organization was to be the "Inter-Parliamentary Conference". In relation to the 1892 decision the aim had been extended: this was now to strive for international arbitration and "deal with other questions concerning international law". The Statutes assumed that also individual parliamentarians were members and not only the national groups. The Conference should hold its "General Assembly" every year in a city to be decided on. The agenda were to be drawn up by an Assembly of Delegates consisting of two members from each properly constituted group. They were also to nominate the Conference Steering Committee and the place for the next meeting. If a two-thirds majority were in favour, a Conference could, however, take up other questions than those which had been decided by the Assembly. Every member was to have one vote; voting was to be by a show of hands, but elections could be by secret ballot if twenty members so required. Finally it was decided that, with reference to the decision of 1892, the Bureau was the Conference's executive body. By a special resolution, the composition of the Bureau was altered; it was to consist of one member from each properly constituted national group.

A committee was also set up in 1894, this time to work out a proposal for a permanent international arbitration court based on four stated principles.

By the decisions taken in 1894, inter-parliamentary cooperation had finally acquired a permanent organization. We can already see at this stage several of the elements on which the Union is built today. The Conference—which in principle should meet every year—already existed, as well as the national groups; and likewise the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau, even if the creation of 1892 was more nearly a combination of today's Executive Committee and Bureau. The post of Secretary General had been established in 1891 and, after 1892, existed in the form of the post as President and Administrator of the Bureau, corresponding virtually to a fusion of the posts of President of the Council and Secretary General of today.

The Assembly of Delegates was a predecessor of the Inter-Parliamentary Council. And as far as the Study Committees are concerned, which are regarded as so important today, we can note that they had at least temporary predecessors in 1892 and 1894. If we look at the work of the Conference we can see, as we have already noted, a development towards a wider field of activities than had been originally intended, as well as a commencing concentration on concrete results instead of general manifestations.

Further organizational development

It is not necessary to follow the Conferences after 1894 in detail. Naturally, the organizational problems retreat further into the background. The subsequent meetings in Brussels 1895 and 1897 and in Budapest 1896 showed instead a very important development of the organization and its work. Thus already in 1895 an important recommendation for statutes for a permanent international arbitration court had been adopted. These recommendations had been worked out by the 1894 Committee. This initiative, which marked the Union's first concrete contribution of any size, was followed up at later Conferences and was given indisputable importance at the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899, when the International Court was set up. As well as dealing with classical arbitration questions, the IPU also dealt with questions of neutrality in war and the treatment of aliens. During these years the number of represented States continued to be roughly the same, 14 in 1895, 15 both in 1896 and 1897. The number of foreign delegates, however, increased to about 170 in the years 1896 and 1897.

Two internal decisions taken during these years deserve to be noted. In Budapest an amendment of the Statutes was adopted which allowed admission to the Conferences also of representative of consultative assemblies in non-parliamentary States, insofar as they were authorized by their government. The decision is remarkable because of the principles involved. From the very beginning the IPU had been a meeting place for parliamentarians, without the slightest official connection with the various States and their governments. The rule, which was adopted in 1896 and remained in force during the entire period up to the First World War, meant that contact could be made with the Russian Duma.

From the meeting in Brussels in 1897 we may note the decision

The pre-war period

to give the Assembly of Delegates certain tasks as an active peacemaking body. In the event of a threat of war the Administrator of the Bureau, at the request of the national group of any State involved in the crisis, was to summon the Assembly, which would then investigate the situation, express an opinion on the questions at issue and, through the mediation of the national groups, try to effect a peaceful solution. The resolution achieved nothing of practical importance, but the ambition to make an active contribution to peace is worthy of notice.

No Conference was held in 1898 but in the following year Norway was the host country. The time was now ripe for a revision of the organization and the Statutes. The most important step taken was that the Assembly of Delegates was abolished and the Inter-Parliamentary Council founded, with the same composition as the Assembly. The Bureau's function as an executive committee was also transferred to the Council. The Bureau, however, continued to function as office and executive organ. The Statutes also contained a new title for the organization: The "Inter-Parliamentary Union for International Arbitration". The expression Union had already occurred in correspondence but had not been officially adopted. The addition of the words "for International Arbitration" is surprising, as they had been dropped in 1894.

The foundation of the Council brought about not only organizational advantages but also a considerable expansion of active inter-parliamentary cooperation. For, from its start, the Council has usually held a special session every year as well as those held in direct connection with the Conferences. A further annual meeting, at which representatives—although only two—from each member group had the right to be present, thus came into existence in this way.

The years immediately following were, for the Union, marked partly by the first Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899 and by work to bring about and prepare a second Peace Conference, and partly by the armed conflicts which broke out in South Africa and the Far East, the Boer War of 1899—1902, the disturbances in China at the turn of the century and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904—1905. During these conflicts the Union took the line of neutrality, which has been followed strictly up to recent times. The Union as such has avoided taking sides in political conflicts. It has not, how-

ever, allowed world events to pass unnoted. These have been the objects for negotiation and exchanges of opinion, and the Union has adopted resolutions and tried to work through its member groups for a peaceful solution of conflicts.

The remainder of the period up to the beginning of the First World War shows a continued energetic participation in the field of international law and order, with emphasis placed on questions of peaceful solution of conflicts, not only through arbitration but through good offices, mediation and conciliation. Questions dealing with neutrality and international rules of war also took an important place in the negotiations of the Union.

The world situation appears to have prevented the holding of plenary meetings in 1901 and 1902. In the first year of the 20th century Paris had once more been host city, and in 1903 a Conference was held in Vienna. The next year a Conference was held for the first time outside Europe, at St. Louis in Missouri, in the USA. Thereafter, in 1905, a Conference was held in Brussels for the third time. There the Statutes were again revised, though the new version contained only a few points worthy of note. The present name, the "Inter-Parliamentary Union", without other addition, was adopted. The aim of the organization was expressed somewhat more actively than before—namely to unite members "in common action" for the advancement of the idea of international arbitration—but otherwise without change de facto. It was expressly stated that individual members of the national groups could be individual members of the Union; a special registration procedure was adopted for this purpose. As far as the Council was concerned, members were to be nominated by the Conference, a question which previously had not been regulated. The Bureau was stated to be the Union's executive and administrative body. It was to be under the control of the Council and administered by a Secretary General, nominated by the Council.

The next Conference was held in London in 1906. We need merely note the number of delegates. The attendance had continued to increase up to 1903, when 248 foreign delegates had attended. Only 136 delegates travelled to the USA, and no more than 177 to Brussels in 1905. In London, however, over 600 delegates assembled, 367 of whom from abroad. No plenary meeting was held in 1907, but in 1908, in Berlin, an equally large attendance was reached, though the exact number of foreign delegates is unknown.

The pre-war period

The Conference in Berlin was of great importance for the Union. Substantial changes were made in the organization, which thereby acquired the general form it has today. The main aim was to strengthen the central administration. A special Executive Committee was set up, and the Bureau put under its control as the administrative body of the Union. A post of salaried Secretary was instituted, with the same tasks as had fallen on the previous Secretary General. The appointment was to be made by the Council. The Committee was to consist of five members, namely the President of the Council, the "Honorary" Secretary General—this title was initially reserved for Albert Gobat—and three members of different nationalities elected by the Conference at the proposal of the Council. One of these members was to resign at each Conference and was thereafter not re-eligible until two years had elapsed. The newly elected member was to belong to another group than the resigning member. Similar rules still apply for elections to the Committee.

As a result of the reforms of 1908 the Union received the tripartite organization which it afterwards retained: the Conference, the Council and the Executive Committee. In addition two posts were established which were to become the leading ones within the Union: that of the parliamentary President of the Council and that of the Chief Administrative Officer. Both posts, admittedly, may be said to have existed previously, but in reality they were a new creation. Previously the President of the Council had acted solely as chairman of the meeting, while the parliamentary Secretary General was the leading personality of the Union. Through the establishment of the Executive Committee and the President's automatic membership of it, as well as the change in nature of the post of Secretary General—from an honorary office to a salaried staff post—the President of the Council became the indisputable head of the Union. Even to the post of Secretary this reorganization, as also, of course, its new character of full-time occupation, meant a radical change.

The new organization naturally involved increased costs for the Union. Up to this point the Union had been sustained almost solely by the contributions by the national groups. Only one country, Norway, had given official financial support. At the Conference in London an appeal was made to the Groups to try to obtain contributions from their respective States. This was generally successful, a further indication of the respect commanded by the Union.

The reforms were put into practice by the Council in 1909 when both the leading posts were filled. The post of President of the Council was allotted to Auguste BEERNAERT, one of Belgium's internationally most reputed statesmen, for many years Prime Minister and an advocate of peace, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1909. He was however 80 years of age on entering office and held the post only for three years. The new Secretary General, however, Christian LANGE, held his post for nearly 25 years. He was a Norwegian and had previously been Secretary of the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament. During his period of office he accomplished work of the utmost importance, not the least of which to see that the Union survived the First World War and to reorganize it afterwards. He, too, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, in 1921 along with the Swedish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Mr. Hjalmar Branting.

Another decision of importance was taken by the Council in 1909—to transfer the Bureau from Berne to Brussels. This move was confirmed in the following year by the Conference then held in Brussels, no plenary meeting having been held in 1909. The Statutes were then given a wholly new wording, as a kind of finishing touch to the radical reforms of 1908. Only a few small changes of practical importance need be noted here. The wording of the first articles implied that only groups, and not individual parliamentarians, could hereafter be members of the Union; the implication was not, however, completely clear. The expression "General Assembly" was abolished, and instead the term "Conference" was used. Furthermore it was decided that the members of the Council should be nominated by the national groups and not, as previously, by the Conference. As one of the tasks of the Council was mentioned to set up Study Committees when necessary; this was the first mention of the Committees in the Statutes. The composition of the Executive Committee was changed, due to Albert Gobat declining to remain in office. It was in the future to consist of the President of the Council as *ex officio* chairman, and of four members nominated in accordance with the previous regulations, which *de facto* implied that their period of office was extended by one year.

New organizational problems made themselves felt, however, already when these reforms were put into practice, relating especially to the number of delegates at the Conferences. The very high figures

from London in 1906 and Berlin in 1908 have been mentioned. It is true that in Brussels in 1910 there were only 400 delegates, compared with over 600 at the other two Conferences, but the smaller total was mainly due to the reduction in number of delegates from the host country: there were exactly 300 foreign delegates. This favourable response was of course gratifying and showed that the standing of the Union had risen, but practical problems were undeniable. Already in 1908 there had been a minor amendment of the Statutes to limit the number of delegates. Since 1889 the rule had been that delegates at earlier Conferences could be present at later meetings even if they were no longer members of their respective Parliaments. This rule was modified to the extent that only former members of the Council and parliamentarians accepted by the Council at the proposal of their group should retain the right to participate in Conferences. A modification of the voting procedure was passed in 1910. The rule of one vote for every delegate might lead to the host country having disproportionate influence on decisions. It was now decided that the number of votes of the host country should never exceed the largest number of votes to which any other country was entitled. These reforms, however, did not go to the root of the problem. By a special resolution of 1910, therefore, it was decided that a Study Committee should work out proposals for a representative system for the participation of national groups in the Conferences, and also investigate the problem of their activities in the work of the Union. The Committee appointed to consider these questions was the same as had recommended the reforms of 1908—10, i.e. the Organization Committee, founded in 1905 as de facto the Union's first permanent Study Committee. This work did not lead to any result prior to the outbreak of the First World War.

It may be useful to note also the other Study Committees which were established during the pre-war years for other than purely temporary purposes. Three were set up in 1910 to deal with questions of maritime law, neutralization of straits and maritime canals, and disarmament. In the following year another committee was set up to investigate the question of permanent neutrality. Three more committees were added in 1912, one to deal with a permanent organization for peace conferences—two of which were held at the Hague in 1899 and 1907—one for arbitration and mediation, and one for aerial warfare. The choice of subjects reflects the growing

area of operations and fields of interest of the Union.

In connection with what has just been said about the modified organization of the Union and of the special Study Committee set up to deal with the question of a permanent organization for peace conferences, it should be noted that both are, in part if not wholly, an expression of the interest with which the Union during the decades before the First World War studied the question of the organization of a league of States. The idea of an organization of the nations of the world, a "League of Nations", was thoroughly dealt with. The possibility of changing the IPU into such an organization, or into a sort of World Parliament, was also discussed during these debates and contributed to the strengthening of the IPU itself.

The signs of the IPU's widening sphere of interests in the years before the First World War were formally expressed at the Geneva Conference in 1912. An amendment of the Statutes was adopted which, in an important way, extended the set aims of the organization. To the paragraph which stated that the Union, as well as working for the solution of international conflicts by arbitration—to which was added the words "or by other peaceful or judicial means"—should also study other questions dealing with international law, was added: "and, in general, all problems relating to the development of peaceful relationships between the nations". The previous attachment to judicial questions was eliminated, a step which was to be of radical importance for the future of the Union. The amendment was not in itself of perceptible importance, because the war intervened. The only visible result was a resolution at the Hague Conference in 1913 in favour of unified international postage rates. And when the war ended and the Union was reorganized, the situation was basically changed owing, among other things, to the foundation of the League of Nations. It is interesting to note, however, that the decision in principle to extend the scope of the Union's work to other than legal problems had already been taken before the war.

The Conference at the Hague in 1913 was the last to be held during the pre-war years. The next meeting should have been opened in Stockholm on 19 August 1914, but was cancelled owing to the outbreak of war.

Auguste Beernaert had been succeeded in 1912 as President of the Council by Lord WEARDALE, a renowned champion of peace, who

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had taken part in the first Inter-Parliamentary Conference and thereafter played an active role in the Union but without reaching any high position in British political life. His ten-year period of office was to include the eight critical years when the IPU could not meet, firstly because of the war and afterwards because of the difficulties of the immediate post-war years.

Participants in the work during the pre-war period

An account has been given above of the main developments in the Union during the first period of its existence, the important stage of growth. Something also should be said, however, about the countries which were represented at the first 18 Conferences.

Mention has already been made of the nine States represented at the first Conference and which, therefore, have been regarded as "founder States" of the Union. Two of these, the USA and Liberia, did not return in the subsequent years, Liberia not until 1955. At the next few Conferences representatives appeared from a number of other countries, which continued to be represented at nearly all the meetings. As from the time of the Rome Conference in 1891 there were 15 "mainstays" of the new organisation: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

One disappointment was that the USA, which had been so much at the centre of interest at the first Conference, was not represented during subsequent years. A special resolution adopted in Budapest in 1896 deplored this fact and expressed the hope of seeing American delegates in the future. This appeal was noted, and from 1897 onwards the USA was represented at every Conference.

Towards the end of the period another four countries could be counted as regular participants. Canada had been represented in Paris in 1900 and in London in 1906 and had sent delegates in 1912 and 1913. Japanese delegates came in 1906 and to the following Conferences with the exception of that in 1912. Turkey was represented at the last three meetings. Representatives from the Duma came to London in 1906. The IPU's first contact with the Duma was surrounded by somewhat dramatic circumstances. On the morning of the day on which the Conference was to open, the news arrived that the Czar had dissolved the Duma. In his opening speech, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,

turned towards the Russian participants and addressed some words of homage to the Duma which attracted considerable attention. Russia was, however, represented at all the subsequent Conferences.

Two other European countries were also represented more than on a few occasions, namely Greece and Serbia (five times each). Otherwise there were only occasional visitors, from Mexico twice and on one occasion from each of Bulgaria, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Finland, Monaco and South Africa.

It is thus true to say that, during this period of its development, the IPU essentially represented Europe and the USA. That Canada, Japan and Turkey appeared at the end of the period does not alter this fact. It was only in London 1905 that a broader representation was achieved, with 26 nations represented. On other occasions the total never exceeded 19.

Mention has been made only of delegates to the Conferences, not of national groups or members. The available material does not provide a sufficient basis for evaluating the development of membership apart from the participation at Conferences. This is partly because of the somewhat vague rules of membership, under which both groups and individuals might be regarded as members, and partly because the records of the Conference proceedings showed little interest in formal aspects.

For this latter reason it is impossible to put on record formal admittances or resignations from the Union. There is, however, one exception. Italy left the Union in 1912. A short account of this episode will serve to conclude this account of the pre-war years, illustrating as it does some basic problems of the IPU.

A Conference was to be held in Rome in the autumn of 1911. An epidemic of cholera broke out in Italy during the summer and the Council therefore decided to cancel the Conference and instead to hold a special meeting of the Council in Paris in October, where a decision was also to be made about when a Conference could be held in Rome. Simultaneously with this meeting, war broke out between Italy and Turkey after an Italian declaration of war. The conflict was deeply regretted by the Council, which after a debate adopted the following resolution:

— — — At its present meeting, called in Paris on October 4th to take decisions with regard to the said Conference, the Council is unexpectedly confronted by recent events.

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It is of the opinion that, given the entirely unforeseen circumstances arising out of those events, it has no alternative but to adjourn its decision on the matter.

Faithful to the strongly pacific principles which constitute the Union's programme of work, which are its *raison d'être* and which it will continue, now more than ever, to uphold, the Council believes it to be its duty to express deep regret that so little account should have been taken of the spirit of peace and justice which inspired the two Hague Conferences, and that the declaration of war should have been so sudden as to have excluded even the possibility of any agreement or mediation of the kind provided for in Articles 3 and 48 of the Convention of October 16th 1907.

The Council expresses its regret that the steps which are said to have been taken by certain Powers with a view to mediation should up till now have proved unavailing, and hopes that international action—which is called for as a result of the unanimous declarations made by the States signatories of the Hague Conventions—may speedily lead to the re-establishment of peace. It urges the different Groups of the Union to use all their influence with their respective Governments to this effect.

The Italian delegates protested at what they considered to be an unfriendly intervention in Italian politics and threatened to leave the meeting, which, however, they did not do. The event nevertheless resulted in the resignation of the Italian Group from the Union. In the exchange of letters which followed, the President explained that no sides had been taken in the conflict but that the Union had merely expressed itself in agreement with its peacemaking mission and that the Group had thus misunderstood the resolution. Efforts were made in subsequent years to persuade the Group to rejoin the Union. In the spring of 1914 an agreement was reached. A unanimous resolution was adopted in which was expressed the Council's wish to see Italy re-enter the Union, and likewise its conviction that the Union should strictly keep to its principle of refraining from judgement in conflicts between governments. The Italians were, however, unable to take part in inter-parliamentary work before the outbreak of the war. The event illustrates the difficulties with which the Union has had to contend ever since its early years, namely to work for peace while trying at the same time to gather together representatives of different Parliaments without regard for their differences of opinion.

Chapter II

Development of the IPU during the Inter-War Period

The First World War brought with it a long and difficult period of trial for the IPU. Nine years were to pass after the last pre-war Conference before the organization had been completely reconstructed and readapted to the new situation created by the crisis and the peace treaties.

The outbreak of war put an end to all joint inter-parliamentary activities. To hold a Conference was naturally out of the question. Certain work could be continued, however, through the other organs of the Union. After the German occupation of Belgium the Bureau was transferred from Brussels to Norway, the homeland of the Secretary General. During the whole of the war the Bureau remained active, in particular the Secretary General in person. Contact was maintained with the National Groups which came through the ordeal of the war period. Several publications were issued, among which, notably, the "Conditions of a lasting peace" in English, French, German and Norwegian. Christian Lange was active also in other organizations working for peace, such as the Central Organization for a Lasting Peace, which was formed in the Hague in 1915. During the first years he was able to maintain contact with the Council and the Executive Committee, issued annual reports and procured approval for his measures. After the war had spread to the majority of the States represented in the Union, all organized consultation became impossible. That the Union survived the strain was due—apart from the contributions of the Secretary General and the Bureau—to the activity within some of the National Groups, especially in the neutral States, but also in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Of special and widely acknowledged significance was the work done within the Nordic Inter-Parliamentary Union which was formed in 1907 by the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Groups.

Reorganization after the First World War

The end of the war did not mean that the Union's difficulties were over. Nor did the conclusion of peace put an end to its years of crisis. On the contrary the first post-war years faced the Union with extremely difficult problems, the solution of which was to be decisive for its future. It was not until 1921 that the first post-war Conference could be assembled, and not until the following year could the crisis be considered to be at an end.

Two problems arose. The first was to bring back the war opponents into inter-parliamentary work. The Union's character of international organization in the service of peaceful cooperation was at stake. In the second place the advent of the League of Nations radically changed the situation. This, too, raised the question of the continued existence of the Union. Would it have a function to fulfil at the side of the new organization, and if so what? And how could it adapt itself to the new situation and to the new post-war problems in general? Even if a positive solution could be found to these two questions, there remained the laborious task of rebuilding the organization of national groups which had partly been demolished during the years of crisis. It was obvious, too, that since the advent of the League of Nations the Union must strive for a larger and broader membership than before the war.

The problems were not long in appearing; they arose almost immediately after the armistice. In February 1919 the Belgian Group met and passed two resolutions. One was addressed to the victorious powers and recommended a radical reconstruction of the Union, implying in reality the formation of an entirely new Union. Groups from the victorious countries alone should participate as a matter of course, groups from neutral States only on certain conditions to be specified later. The Central Powers should be definitely excluded. In the second resolution blame was cast on the actions of the Secretary General during the war.

The Belgian Group gained no support for its views from the Groups which commented on them. The British Group, seconded by the American, rejected both resolutions. No other Groups replied. The Dutch and Swiss Groups, as also the Nordic Inter-Parliamentary Union, pronounced in favour of continuation of the work on a

fully international basis. This was not the end of the matter, however.

On 7—8 October 1919 the Council met for the first time since the war. The meeting was held in Geneva and attended by representatives of ten Groups: the American, Belgian, British, Canadian, Danish, Dutch, German, Norwegian, Swedish and Swiss. The Belgian delegate, however, a prominent inter-parliamentarian and member of the Executive Committee, abstained from taking part in the deliberations. The Council examined reports on the administration of the Bureau and on the state of the Union and unanimously passed a resolution containing a warmly worded vote of thanks for the work of the Secretary General during the years of crisis. A resolution was also passed concerning the League of Nations. The council welcomed the foundation of the League with the deepest satisfaction and went on to say:

An expression of the elevated idea of cooperation between all peoples in the service of peaceful and productive work, the League of Nations is called upon to guarantee the world against the return of a war such as that which has just devastated Europe and to assure its populations of the benefit of progressive disarmament.

The Council which, with President Wilson, sees in the new organization "the sole hope of humanity" expresses its firm belief that the Inter-Parliamentary Union will henceforth devote all its efforts to the consolidation and democratic evolution of the League of Nations.

Elections of members of the Executive Committee were also held. The Belgian, in view of his Group's attitude, offered to resign but was persuaded to accept re-election. The Council, finally, decided in principle to accept an invitation to hold its nineteenth Conference in Stockholm in 1920.

The Council reassembled in June 1920, this time at the Hague. Only the British, Danish, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish and Swiss Groups were represented. Two identical resolutions were now on the agenda, from the Belgian and French Groups, which declared that they could not resume relations with representatives of the Central Powers until the latter had become members of the League of Nations in accordance with the peace treaty. The Council responded by passing a resolution of the following content. It declared its firm opinion that the Union had a greater part than ever to play, namely to support and develop the League, the creation of which had been

largely due to the Union's efforts. But, for the Union to attain the same success as earlier, it was absolutely necessary that it should retain its international character. The Council therefore frankly regretted the decision of the Belgian and French Groups to stand outside the work of the Union for the time being. Without wishing in any way to comment on their attitude, which was due to the sufferings of the peoples of the two countries during the war, the Council pronounced as its hope that the Groups would reconsider their decision. Finally the Council directed an appeal to the Parliaments of all countries to form national groups and to participate actively in the work of the Union. It decided to postpone the Conference in Stockholm until 1921 as the continuing political problems, difficulties of travel and the presidential election in the USA were likely to be obstructions to a "truly international" meeting.

After the League of Nations had taken up its residence in Geneva and the first General Assembly had been summoned, the Executive Committee decided in August 1920 to transfer the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau to Geneva. The decision was subsequently confirmed by the Stockholm Conference.

The Council met again in Geneva in April 1921 with delegations from Canada, Germany and Portugal and the six previously represented States. The Belgian member of the Executive Committee now tendered his resignation which, with deep regret and expressions of personal appreciation, was "temporarily" accepted, an Italian being appointed to succeed him. The Council also passed a resolution relating to the first session of the League of Nations at the end of 1920. The Council drew the groups' attention to the League's decisions and recommendations and called for cooperation in quick ratification of the statutes for the International Court of Justice and for support of the League's striving to bring about a limitation of armaments. Finally the Council passed the following resolution with an express declaration of principle concerning the neutrality of the Union in political conflicts:

The Inter-Parliamentary Council, after examining the various requests made to the Bureau that the Union or its central bodies should take action in connection with questions of current policy causing divisions between countries,

declares it to be a fundamental principle of the Union, and one to which it has always adhered, not to take sides in political disputes.

The Union, its Council, and its Bureau must in the opinion of the

Council, always maintain that attitude and must confine themselves, in the event of international disputes, to calling public attention to the duty incumbent upon States always to resort to judicial and amicable methods of settling disputes.

It is, on the other hand, understood that the National Groups have complete liberty in this respect and may express their opinion even on questions of current policy.

Finally, on 17 August 1921, the nineteenth Inter-Parliamentary Conference could be opened in Stockholm after a delay of seven years. The attendance was the lowest since the early 1890's, there being no more than 95 foreign delegates. Only 12 Groups were represented, among which 10 of the 16 mainstays of the Union during the pre-war period: the American, Austrian, British, Danish, Dutch, German, Italian, Norwegian, Swedish and Swiss. Of the remaining six one had disappeared—the Portugese, which had admittedly been represented at the spring meeting of the Council but was not to take part of any subsequent Conference. The Belgian and French Groups persisted in their refusal to participate. Rumania had also adopted this standpoint. Hungarian and Spanish Groups now existed but sent no delegates. Of the four countries which were represented in the Union in the years immediately preceding the war, only Japan sent delegates. The Canadians were prevented from coming. The political upheavals in Russia and Turkey had put an end to the inter-parliamentary work in those countries. The twelfth Group represented in Stockholm was a new one, which thereafter took a regular part in the work of the Union, namely the Finnish. There is reason to suppose that groups existed also in Greece and Poland. The Conference record states that the Polish Group had sided with the Belgians and French. Thus, there seems to have been 20 groups in the Union in 1921, though eight were not represented in Stockholm. This was admittedly a growth in numbers compared with the pre-war period, but the continuing conflict between certain of the warring countries made an optimistic view of the situation unrealistic. The schism came to light at the Conference, moreover, in the form of a written protest from a member of the French Group who, representing a minority, had wished to participate but been refused, since only delegates appointed by the Groups were admitted. The application of this principle implied *de facto* that the new rule, later to be ratified in Stockholm, was established in advance. Previously every member had the unconditional right to participate. The

Frenchman's protest, which does not appear to have led to any decision, therefore seems to have been justified.

A proposal for new Statutes, intended to bring the Union into line with the new conditions, had been prepared for presentation at the Conference. It was accepted only in part, however, and "provisionally". A final decision was postponed until the next Conference, which also departed in important respects from the texts passed in Stockholm. A detailed account of the 1921 decisions is therefore unnecessary. A single comment should be made, apart from the aforementioned change of the rules concerning the right to attend a Conference. This relates to Article 1, which sets forth the aim of the Union. The 1921 edition stated as main object of the Union, with reference to the previously cited resolution of the Council, that the Union should work for "the firm establishment and democratic development of the League of Nations". In the second place the Union should study other international questions of a kind which could be solved by parliamentary means. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, by this definition of its functions, the Union had been degraded from its undoubtedly quite advanced position during the pre-war period to a mere supporting organization of the League of Nations, whatever the rhetorical declarations to the effect that the Union had a greater task than ever to play. The article was also differently worded in 1922.

Otherwise it may be mentioned that the Conference adopted seven resolutions, apart from the question of the Statutes, one being the desire that the then 20 States in Central and South America should join the Union, two resolutions concerning relations with the League of Nations and the ILO, a very detailed resolution on the question of disarmament, and one for the establishment of a Study Committee for economic and financial questions. Certain important indications were thereby given for the work in the inter-war period. The disarmament question remained constantly in the foreground, in a quite different way than previously. And the economic problems, which until 1912 had lain outside the appointed field of work of the Union, were hereafter to form an increasingly important part of its activities.

After the first post-war Conference, accordingly, there was still a considerable doubt about the future of the Union, even if certain important advances had been made. The pre-war cooperation had

not yet been restored, the international character of the Union was still precarious, the state of the groups was often uncertain, the aim of the organization was hardly clarified, and the working procedures had not been thought through or resolved upon. It was the next Conference, the twentieth, held in Vienna in 1922, which was to create the clarity that was needed.

This Conference was on an altogether different scale than the previous one. The number of foreign delegates, 288, approached the figures for the largest pre-war meetings. Twenty-six States were represented, a larger number than ever before. The conflict between the members now proved to have been overcome. In the capital of one of the former Central Powers delegates now appeared also from the Belgian, French, Polish and Rumanian Groups. All the 20 Groups which may be considered to have existed in 1921 were represented at this Conference. Representatives came also from four new countries, which with few interruptions were to participate in the work of the Union during the whole inter-war period, namely Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Dutch East Indies and Estonia. Furthermore, the 1921 resolution yielded the result, even if small and temporary, that delegates arrived from Chile. As Chile gained admission to the Council, it must be considered that a Chilean Group existed; it was not, however, represented on future occasions. Furthermore, a delegation arrived from Turkey, but it did not represent a group; the members must be considered as observers.

At Vienna new Statutes were adopted for the Union. They are still in force, though naturally several amendments have been made to them. Only the most important new features will be considered in this context. The definition of the aim of the Union in Article 1 was essentially modified in relation to the wording of 1921. The aim was now defined as to work for "the firm establishment and the democratic development of the work of international peace and cooperation between nations, by means of a universal organization of nations". Two things appear from this text compared with the provisional version. The Union was to be not only a supporting organization of the League of Nations but to have a broader international aim. The lack of universality of the League had also made a strong impression, as had appeared already from the resolution concerning the League adopted in 1921. This weakness of the new organization was of significance in two respects. In the first place it inspired fears

for its future, fears which a later time was to see confirmed. It also gave a greater significance, or at all events greater opportunities, to the IPU than had been counted on when the League was founded. The Union included national groups from States which were not members of the League, the most important being the USA, which never became a member of the League but during the entire inter-war period took an active part in the work of the Union and failed to send delegates to only two Conferences, in 1933 and 1935. Germany, too, was a member of the Union but not of the League at the time of the Vienna Conference. Not until 1926 did Germany become a member of the League.

As regards the new Statutes a word should be said about the way in which they met the problems raised by the 1910 Conference at Brussels, relating to the right to participate in Conferences and in their decisions. It should be noted first that the strict rule concerning participation, which was provisionally adopted in 1921 and in practice was applied already at the Stockholm Conference, was not retained in the final Statutes. A return was instead made to the old rule that every member of a national group should be entitled to be present at Conferences and participate in their deliberations. A clause was added, however, according to which, at the request of the host country or on special grounds, the Council might limit the number of delegates from each group to the number of votes to which the group was entitled under the new rules. Concerning the allocation of votes the following may briefly be said. It had long been clear that the old rule of one vote for each delegate must be abandoned. The only practical alternative, manifestly, was to allot a specific number of votes to each group. This was done on the basis of three principles. First each group was given five votes. Supplementary votes were then allotted in relation to the country's population, at least one and at most 23 votes. The colonial powers were subject to special rules, but these may be disregarded. Finally a group which had attained a high membership in their popularly elected chambers was awarded one, two or three additional votes. A group might thus possess at least 6 and at most 31 votes.

The Council was instructed to notify the numbers of votes of the groups in conjunction with summons to Conferences. A supplementary clause stated that, when necessary, the groups should nominate the delegates who were to be entitled to vote, on a

proportional system. This rule gives expression to the neutrality of the Union not only in national conflicts but also in questions of party differences in internal politics. The change from individual to group voting should not lead to majority rule within the groups and so jeopardize the possibility of including whole Parliaments, with all shades of opinion, in the inter-parliamentary work.

As regards the actual decision procedure a show of hands was retained as first alternative, but a roll-call of delegates was added as second alternative when any delegate so requested.

Otherwise mention may be made merely of an amendment of detail in the new Statutes, as it illustrates the organizational development. One of the attributes of the Council had been since 1910 to set up Study Committees when necessary. This point was now amended to the effect that the Council was charged with the responsibility for instituting permanent or temporary Study Committees. This, in itself, small modification indicates that the Committees had by then acquired an acknowledged status and importance as a normal part of the working apparatus of the Union. There will soon be reason to revert to this point.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say, when looking back on the development of the IPU, that the Vienna Conference in 1922 was an important milestone, perhaps in fact a decisive turning-point. The large attendance and the new Statutes were signs that the long years of crisis were now past. The organization had succeeded in re-establishing cooperation and adapting its efforts and procedural forms to the conditions of a new age. How radically changed these conditions were and how different a form the inter-parliamentary work was to take in the inter-war compared with the pre-war period was perhaps not fully realized at Vienna, but within only a few years the perspectives were to become clearer.

In 1922 a new President of the Council was also elected when Lord Weardale retired at the age of 75. His successor was the Chairman of the Swedish Group, Theodor ADELSWÄRD, a liberal businessman and member of Parliament, Minister of Finance 1911—14. In 1919 he had been elected to the Executive Committee, over which he had presided on several occasions in Lord Weardale's absence.

Further organizational development

It is not necessary to follow in detail the various Conferences during the coming years. The foundations were laid in 1922 and it was now a question merely of building further upon them, and of supplementations and modifications. A brief survey will suffice. The organizational work was continued at the two following Conferences, in Copenhagen in 1923 and in Berne and Geneva in 1924. No less than five permanent Study Committees were established in addition to that appointed in Stockholm for economic and financial questions. Two of them were set up in 1923, one for juridical and one for ethnic and colonial questions. Two previous Committees were re-constituted in 1924. The original Organizational Committee was re-established under the name of Committee on Political and Organizational Questions. The previous Committee for the Reduction of Armaments was also re-established and a new Committee on Social and Humanitarian Questions was formed.

The very number of permanent Committees of the Union shows the breadth of its activities. An account of the subjects dealt with at the various Conferences should therefore not be necessary in this context, but reference may be made to Chapter IV. A very great change had manifestly taken place since the pre-war period. It may also be mentioned that in 1936 a "Committee on Intellectual Relations" was formed, a predecessor to today's Educational, Scientific and Cultural Committee.

Some minor amendments were also made to the Statutes in 1923 and 1924. An important principle was established in 1923 concerning the various types of draft resolutions that the Conferences may take up for consideration. Among the original powers of the Council it was stated that it should decide upon the agenda of the Conferences "and upon the text of draft resolutions other than those submitted by a Special Commission of Study". The new paragraph was divided into three points and established that the initiative to resolutions can be taken in three ways: by the Council itself, by a Study Committee, or by an individual delegate or group. The Council should study all proposals and be entitled to recommend that the Conference accept, amend or reject an individual motion. The latter right, on the other hand, should not exist in respect of Committee motions.

Some amendments were introduced in 1924 as regards colonies. The right to join the Union was extended to groups constituted within "Parliaments of States, Dominions or Colonies not represented in any other Parliament". All types had actually been represented previously, as mentioned in respect of Canada and the Dutch East Indies. A special rule was introduced also for calculating the number of votes to be allotted to a group from a colony, aimed at reducing the number of supplementary votes for a heavily populated colony.

An important innovation was introduced in 1924. Special Rules for Inter-Parliamentary Conferences were then adopted for the first time. These Rules are still in force, though amended on several occasions. Their factual content need not be considered here. The establishment of the Rules, however, was an important event in the respect that it confirmed a long organizational development which, among much else, implied that, in its working procedures, the Union had increasingly come to resemble the parliamentary assemblies. The original meetings with their markedly propaganda character and with hardly any formal regulations were now far behind. Gradually the Union had drawn closer to an ordinary parliamentary procedure. Even before the Second World War the point had been reached at which reports and motions were prepared in advance and the questions at issue were studied to some extent by Committees. During the first decades of the century the practice had still been that all preparatory work took place at the meeting of the Council immediately before a Conference. The suspended Stockholm Conference in 1914 would have been the first at which "preliminary documents", comprising all reports and motions, were sent out printed in advance, as has been done as a matter of course since the inter-war period. It may justifiably be said that the extension of the Committee apparatus and the adoption of the Conference Rules in 1924 mark a kind of final point in an organizational respect. Not that nothing has been changed since, but the changes which have been made have been modifications and extensions without affecting the basic principles.

Only a few short words need be said about the amendments of the Statutes which were adopted on two later occasions. By an addendum of 1928 to the last point of the article specifying the powers of the Council, which states that the Council shall in general take appropriate measures to promote the aims of the Union, it was

decided that between the Conferences the Council should be entitled, in the name of the Union, to declare its opinion on international questions lying within its field of activities. As has already been evident, the Council had on many previous occasions made such declarations, but it now received an express and formal support and an official authorization to do so.

An important change of principle was introduced in 1931 when it was established that a Parliament as such can constitute itself a national group, as had happened in the USA. Actually the arrangement harmonizes little with the unofficial character of the Union. If it is generally adopted, the IPU will be an official association of Parliaments.

In the same year the rules concerning the right to attend the Conferences were changed to, in principle, the rule provisionally adopted in 1921 but abolished in the next year. Only official delegates of the groups, in number corresponding at most to their number of votes, may participate unless, at the request of the host-country and when special circumstances render it desirable, the Council decides to allow every group member to be present at and participate in the deliberations.

In 1931 a modification was also made in the rules concerning the Executive Committee, it now being resolved that one member should resign every year, not at every Conference. In years when no Conference was held, the election was to be made by the Council.

The last-mentioned amendment to the Statutes must be viewed in the light of the fact that certain interruptions had occurred in the series of annual Conferences. The Conference in Berne and Geneva had been followed in 1925 by one in Washington and Ottawa, but in the next year none had been held. In the next two years Conferences were held in Paris and Berlin, but none was held in 1929. In 1926 and 1929 the Council and the Committees instead met in Geneva in September. It seems from the published account that, i.e., financial considerations were the reason for not convening Conferences in those years. From 1930 until the outbreak of war, however, Conferences were held every year, alternating between the European capitals, London in 1930, Bucharest in 1931, Madrid in 1933, Istanbul in 1934, Brussels in 1935, Budapest in 1936, Paris in 1937, the Hague in 1938 and Oslo in 1939. The 1932 Conference was held in Geneva.

The number of foreign delegates was between 200 and 300 in 1923, 1924 and 1925, over 300 in Paris in 1927 and London in 1930, and more than 400 in Berlin in 1928. Thereafter a heavy fall took place, chiefly as a result of the financial crisis, to between 100 and 200 from 1931 to 1935. In the last years of peace there was a return to the earlier scale: 218 foreign delegates in 1936, 315 in Paris in 1937 and 278 and 275 in the last two years.

There are three changes in the leadership of the Union to note from this period. Theodor Adelswärd retired from the presidency in 1928 owing to ill-health. He died in the following year. He was succeeded by Fernand BOUISSON, Speaker of the French Chamber of Deputies 1927—36, Prime Minister for some days in 1935. He remained President of the Council until 1934. He was succeeded by the Belgian statesman Henri CARTON DE WIART, Minister of Justice 1911—18 and Prime Minister 1920—21. He won a great repute within the Union and on his retirement in 1947 was appointed Honorary President, a distinction not earlier awarded. In the post of Secretary General there was also a change when Christian Lange retired in 1933. His successor was the former Assistant Secretary General, Léopold BOISSIER, a Swiss lawyer.

Development of membership in the inter-war period

It remains to say something about the fluctuations in the membership of the Union and in the attendance at its Conferences during that period. A few formal comments must first be made. To gain a true picture of the development one must take into account other facts than what countries were represented at the various Conferences. The firmer organization of the Union and the clear rule that groups alone but not individual parliamentarians were to be considered members warrants a more thorough analysis than that of the pre-war period. But it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to make a really reliable and accurate analysis. The facts available are often both vague and conflicting. The number of States represented at at least one Conference was in the pre-war period 31, in the inter-war period 56. The more permanently active in the former period, however, numbered no more than 16, towards the end 19, and throughout the latter period around 25. It is concerning the over 30 more or less occasional participators in the inter-parliamentary work that the difficulties arise on closer consideration.

The inter-war period

When can a group be said to have existed although not represented at the annual Conference, etc.? An attempted analysis of the development is shown in the Appendix, based on a restrictive assessment. The Union's own Conference Records quite naturally express a more optimistic view. The figures given here are considerably more cautious but, consequently, give an undoubtedly more realistic picture of the membership of the Union. But it is not merely a question of judging whether a group existed although it did not send delegates to a Conference. Often countries have been represented at a Conference without having formed a national group. They have sent "observers", often as a preliminary to forming a group. The Appendix also shows the distribution between actual delegates and observers, but there have been certain difficulties in gauging the situation in this case as well.

An account of the growth of membership of the IPU in the inter-war period should take into consideration the crisis of democracy and parliamentarism which passed over Europe in the early thirties. In reality there were two phases with a boundary line somewhere around the National Socialist takeover of power in Germany.

In the first of these phases the "core" of the Union consisted of 25 national groups. Of this number 23 have been mentioned in conjunction with the Vienna Conference in 1922. In the following years they were joined by Latvia in 1923 and by Ireland and Egypt in 1924. With the entry of a military dictatorship in Spain and the dissolution of the Cortes, the Spanish Group disappeared in 1925. In addition four countries were represented more than temporarily. A group was formed in Danzig in 1928 and was represented at the Conferences in Berlin and London. A Lithuanian Group existed and was represented from 1923 to 1925. Yugoslavia had a group from 1924 to 1928 which was represented at four Conferences. Greece sent delegates to all five Conferences between 1925 and 1931, but the formal existence of a group appears somewhat doubtful. Occasional representatives from a number of countries came to Conferences in certain years. These will be disregarded for the moment.

The upheavals in Europe during the thirties naturally reacted on the IPU. At the Geneva Conference in July 1932 and at the meeting of the Council in Geneva in April 1933 there were two serious inter-mezzos, both of which were rooted in the central European totalitarian regimes, and both of which had important sequels.

The events in 1932 were connected with Fascist Italy and constituted a tragicomic incident, which fortunately is unique in the history of the Union. Even after Mussolini's takeover of power at the end of 1922 Italy had constantly taken part in the inter-parliamentary work. The Italian Group had sent delegates to all Conferences. The widespread dislike for the Italian regime came to drastic expression at the Geneva Conference held in the palace of the League of Nations. After an Italian delegate had concluded his speech on the codification of international law and the ad hoc Chairman of the meeting had called upon the next speaker, a French delegate—without requesting permission to speak—commenced a bitter diatribe against the Italian regime. Despite the efforts of the Chairman to restore order a tumultuous scene developed which after a while forced the Chairman to adjourn the meeting. When it was resumed, however, there was further disturbance and disorder, whereupon the proceedings were suspended for the day. This, to say the least, troublesome intermezzo for the Union led immediately to the even more embarrassing result that the subsequent meetings of the Conference had to be held elsewhere than in the palace of the League of Nations. An account of the event was duly reported in the Conference Record under the heading "Incident". The result was that the Italian Group withdrew from the Union as it considered it had not received an acceptable apology. By 1934, however, it was back again and participated in all except the last Conference of that period.

The Council meeting in 1933 was by no means the scene of any disorderly proceedings but, instead, of an extremely serious discussion, serious both in its subject-matter and in its import. The background in this case was the assumption of power by Hitler in Germany three months previously. In a letter to the Bureau the Chairman of the Swiss Group stated that the new German regime had imprisoned a number of members of the Reichstag without legal authority. He requested that the Union, through the Council or Bureau, should investigate the matter and make the necessary démarches. His letter gave rise to a very thorough discussion at the meeting of the Council. The German Group was not represented. It should be mentioned that under a preceding point on the agenda the Council had placed the subject "the evolution of the parliamentary system" on the agenda for the autumn Conference, with

a draft resolution prepared by the Political Committee, in view among other things of the transfer of power in Germany. The Swiss letter aroused sympathy in all quarters, but several speakers—including the acting President, the Secretary General and the rapporteur of the Committee—earnestly cautioned against any action which might be taken as an intervention in the internal affairs of Germany. Christian Lange, in particular, developed this theme at great length and referred to the 1921 resolution concerning the neutrality of the Union in political conflicts. He finally proposed a compromise that the Council should adopt a resolution based on certain main points in the draft resolution presented by the Political Committee. A drafting committee of three members was appointed. This committee drew up a proposal which after further debate was unanimously adopted with two minor modifications. The resolution was worded as follows:

The Inter-Parliamentary Council has decided, in the spirit of the draft resolution on the evolution of representative government which it will place before the Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Madrid, and in face of the serious attacks brought at this time against parliamentary government and its representatives, which the Council deeply regrets,

to affirm already at this meeting the principles inspiring the draft resolution which will be presented in Madrid;

to express its unshakeable belief in the representative system, which enables Parliament, as the expression of the will of the people, to exercise control over the actions of the Executive;

to recall the necessity of respecting the immunity, which should be guaranteed to every member of Parliament, and the rights of the parliamentary opposition; and

to proclaim its adherence to the fundamental principles, which are the basis of the democratic rights, namely freedom of assembly and freedom of opinion.

This contribution was the last made by Christian Lange in the service of the Union; the next item in the minutes reports his retirement from the post of Secretary General. As is immediately evident from a reading of the resolution, it admittedly dealt solely with questions of principle in accordance with the rule of neutrality, but its intention was altogether unambiguous, as also the opinion on which it was based. Nor was the result slow in coming. Within a short time it was announced that the German Group had been dissolved. Shortly thereafter the same announcement came concerning the Danzig Group.

Through the withdrawal of Germany in 1933 the Union lost one of the 25 "permanent" members from the first phase. The Anschluss between Austria and Germany in 1938 meant the loss of still another "permanent" member, though to be sure, owing to internal upheavals, Austria had stood outside the work of the Union from 1933 to 1935. The final incorporation of Czechoslovakia in Greater Germany robbed the Union of still another active member. The Latvian Group disappeared in 1934. The Bulgarian had been dissolved during 1935—37 but was resurrected and represented at the last two Conferences.

During those years, however, the Union acquired four new "permanent" members over and above those from the first phase. The Spanish revolution in 1931, which led to the downfall of the military dictatorship and monarchy, brought Spain back into the inter-parliamentary work in 1932. As already noted, the 1933 Conference was held in Madrid. The Spanish Group was represented at all Conferences except the last, which was held after the civil war had ended in a victory for General Franco. As will appear from the next chapter, however, the Republican Group continued to exist for a long time thereafter. The year 1932 saw two other former groups reappear in a new guise. Turkey had been a member before the war but disappeared during the subsequent internal upheavals. Turkish observers came to Vienna in 1922 and likewise to London in 1930 and Bucharest in 1931, and a new national group had been formed in the following year. During the pre-war years Serbia had participated on several occasions; and during some years in the twenties Yugoslavia had had a national group which, however, had been dissolved during the internal disturbances. It was reconstituted after conditions had stabilized. An entirely new group was formed, finally, in Luxemburg in 1936 and sent delegates to the last four Conferences.

The changes during the thirties thus left the "permanent" membership of the Union roughly the same at around 25. As regards other States which had previously been represented more than purely occasionally, it may be noted merely that the Greek Group disappeared after 1936.

Finally some words should be said about the occasional participants in the inter-parliamentary work and concerning the efforts of the Union to extend its membership. Ever since the years before the war the Union had striven to acquire members in the Latin American

States. The resolution to that effect in Stockholm in 1921 has already been mentioned. These efforts, however, were without success. Two major efforts were made, in conjunction with the Conferences in the USA in 1925 and in Spain in 1933. Admittedly representatives of no less than seventeen of the Latin American States attended at least one Conference—Argentina, Ecuador and Paraguay alone remained entirely unrepresented—and admittedly five of them were represented on three occasions, namely Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Peru, but the Latin American activity was nevertheless of an occasional nature. Evidence of regularly constituted national groups appears to exist in respect of nine of the seventeen countries; the remaining eight must be considered merely to have sent observers.

The Union also attempted to enrol members within the British Empire. Canada had long been a member. Otherwise the efforts left little trace. Observers arrived from Australia and India on three occasions, from South Africa on two and from New Zealand once; all, naturally enough, were represented in London in 1930. But no groups were established.

Elsewhere, too, during that period the Union was unsuccessful in its efforts to gain members outside Europe and North America. The only results were a group formed in the Philippines, which sent delegates in 1925 and 1927, and one in Iran which sent delegates to Istanbul in 1934.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, accordingly, the situation for the Union was as follows. National groups existed—on the basis of the restrictive evaluation employed—in 25 countries, which was a certain advance compared with the years just before the First World War. Of these groups 20 were European. Among the remainder there were principally the two North American and the Japanese, all three of which had existed prior to 1914. The only two acquisitions outside Europe were the Dutch East Indies and Egypt.

A radical reorganization of the Union had taken place in the inter-war period as regards aims, tasks and organization, but the membership had not changed to a corresponding extent. The post-war period was to bring a far-reaching alteration of structure.

Chapter III

The Development of the IPU after the Second World War

The Second World War caused a new long break in the work of the IPU. The last Conference before the war was held in Oslo, only a couple of weeks before the outbreak of hostilities. A Council meeting could be held in Lugano in March 1940. There the Bureau was empowered to devote itself during the war to three tasks: (a) to attempt to maintain the Union's organization at a reduced cost, (b) as far as possible to carry on its normal activities while avoiding all measures which could adversely affect the future of the Union, and (c) to encourage the national groups to continue their activities as far as possible and in a way best suited to the prevailing conditions. A month later all normal means of communication between the Union's main agencies were cut off through the extension of the war on the Western Front. The Belgian President and the Norwegian member of the Executive Council lost all possibility of keeping in touch with the Bureau; in the next year the Yugoslav member disappeared in the chaos of war, and after the Hungarian member had died, the British member was left as sole representative. He and the Secretary General worked actively for the preservation of the Union. Several national groups also continued their activities, but the situation was less favourable than during the First World War. On this occasion, for example, the Nordic IPU was unable to function.

Reorganization after the Second World War

The reorganization of the Union after the Second World War nevertheless proved to be easier than it had been in 1918.

The Council met in Geneva for the first time on 12 and 13 September 1945, with representatives from 10 groups. Between the initial and final meetings the Council formed two ad hoc committees

to discuss four subjects: the development of the Union and its relationship to other international organizations, national sovereignty and the rights of the individual, reconstruction after the war, and the refugee problem. It should be remembered that these discussions were conducted against the background of the drawing-up and ratification of the United Nations Charter by the signatory powers in San Francisco on 26 June. The Council and both Committees met again in Copenhagen in April 1946, this time with 92 representatives from 16 national groups. The same subjects were debated as at the previous meeting, and in addition a sub-committee was set up to deal with colonial questions. The discussions of chief interest, however, related to the reorganization of the Union and its relationship to the UN, and resulted in the setting up of a special sub-committee to examine the question more fully. As basis for the debate a questionnaire had been distributed by the Bureau, the first five questions being:

1. Do you consider that it would be desirable to proceed to a general re-organisation of the Inter-Parliamentary Union?

2. If so, should an attempt be made to give the Union a more official character,

- a) by drafting an international multilateral convention to be submitted to the approval of all the states concerned?
- b) by the adoption, by the legislative power of each state concerned, of an Act, order-in-council, or decree, the effect of which would be to affiliate the Parliament of that country to the Union, or officially to recognise the Inter-Parliamentary Group?

3. If you are of opinion that the Union should not become an official institution, would you prefer that each national Group should be formed by affiliation of the Parliament as a whole, all the members thus becoming *ipso facto* members of the Group, or by the individual adherence of those Members of Parliament wishing to participate in Inter-Parliamentary work?

4. Do you regard it as desirable that the Legislative Assemblies of all countries of the world, however recruited, should join the Union?

5. Or should the Statutes of the Union contain certain conditions of admission for a Parliament or Inter-Parliamentary Group into the Union? Should admission be subject to certain rules of procedure and be authorised by a vote either at an Inter-Parliamentary Conference or by the Council?

To judge from the minutes, the debate can hardly be described as thorough. One generally felt and clearly expressed opinion was that the Union should be reorganized on the old principles, as an unofficial organization, independent of the UN, and based on the

voluntary membership of individual parliamentarians of their national groups. There was a certain difference of opinion about the fifth question. The Secretary General pointed out that there were no rules about the granting of membership and that no decision had been made in that respect. Several speakers wished to retain these traditions, while others advocated the adhesion to democratic and parliamentary principles as a fundamental requirement.

A concrete question arose in relation to the UN. According to Article 71 of the UN Charter, the Economic and Social Council could take suitable steps for consultation with non-governmental organizations. The procedure in practice has been that a large number of organizations have been given a consultative status. An organization awarded full consultative status, "Category A", has the right to be represented at meetings of the Council, and its delegates have the right both to speak and to submit proposals. The question which now arose was whether the IPU should seek to acquire such a status. At the end of the discussion this question was put directly by the President of the Council, Carton de Wiart, who suggested exploratory contacts with UN member States to investigate their attitude. No decision was reached; nor, naturally, was it within the powers of the Committee to make such a decision.

In August 1946 new Committee meetings were held at St. Moritz. The Executive Committee, consisting of three members provisionally nominated by the Council, also held its first post-war meeting there.

The first IPU Conference of the post-war period was opened in Cairo on 7 April, 1947, the Council having met the day before. Retrospectively it may be said without any doubt that there was a certain symbolism in the fact that the new era was inaugurated by the Union's first, and hitherto only Conference in Africa. The attendance must be considered to have been good when it is considered that the locality was relatively remote from the home-countries of most of the old member groups; 157 foreign delegates arrived and 24 groups were represented. On the basis of the available information it seems that four other groups were in existence although they did not send delegates. This would imply an increase of three over the number of groups in existence at the outbreak of war. Among the old member groups, the Austrian, Czech and Greek, which had been dissolved in 1939, had been reorganized and were

represented at the Conference, but on the other hand the inter-parliamentary activity in Canada, the Dutch East Indies, Estonia and Japan had ceased. New groups, however, had been founded in Iraq and Syria and sent delegates. The Lebanon and the Philippines should also be considered as members that year although they were not represented until the next Conference. Two of the old groups, the Irish and Spanish, existed but were not represented.

The Conference had to consider a proposal put forward by the sub-committee set up in Copenhagen concerning certain amendments to the Statutes. A report was presented to the meeting by the French chairman of the sub-committee. In his introduction he rightly said that the suggested modifications were not very wide in scope. Radical ideas had, however, been advanced within the sub-committee; a Czech delegate had put forward certain views which were of interest. He considered that neither the outward form nor the programme or political character of the Union corresponded to the need of the times. An unofficial organization founded on individual and voluntary membership could hardly make an effective contribution. Furthermore, it could be considered that the original intention of the IPU had been fulfilled in that the International Court had been set up, and there were now a number of other competent and often better equipped organizations working for peace. The Czech delegate also considered that the Union had neglected the constitutional questions which it should have had most closely at heart, and had lost sight of the aim of improving democracy and parliamentarism. He concluded his criticism by outlining three alternatives: to reorganize the Union with the strengthening of democracy as its main task, to convert the Union into an official assembly of Parliaments with a constitution based on that of the UN, or finally to incorporate the Inter-Parliamentary Council into the UN alongside the Economic and Social Council. It cannot be said that these views were well received by the sub-committee. The opposition they encountered seems partly to have been based on a distortion of the points of view expressed by the Czech. Eventually the sub-committee's proposals were drawn up entirely along traditional lines.

Only one of the amendments of the Statutes adopted by the Conference is worthy of note here. This dealt with the definition of the aim of the Union. In the first place an addition was made to

Article 1 to the effect that personal contacts should be promoted between members of Parliaments. Secondly, in the part which dealt with the work for international peace, and the consolidation and development of international cooperation, an addition was made and the wording was altered, the establishment and development of democratic institutions being brought forward into the foreground as a new element. The expression in the last paragraph that the Union should also "study" international problems the solution of which could be reached by parliamentary action was changed to the more active "study and seek solutions for" such questions. At the request of the Belgian delegate during the debate a new final point was added: to "make suggestions for the development of parliamentary institutions, with a view to improving the working of these institutions and increasing their prestige". Another point of note in the Committee's report was that it rejected the idea of a special procedure for the election of new members. The existing vague practice had given good results, said the rapporteur concisely. Within a short time the question was to appear in a different light.

Neither the proposed amendments of the Statutes nor the debate on them was in any way coloured by radicalism. The ideas put forward by the Czech member were not even discussed at the Conference. The main exchanges of opinion dealt with two questions. The sub-committee had suggested new voting rules under which the number of supplementary votes was to be drastically reduced. After a ballot had been taken, this proposal was referred back to the sub-committee for further consideration. In addition the relationship of the Union to the UN led to a partially animated debate. The Executive Committee had already applied for full consultative status for the Union in accordance with Article 71 of the UN Charter. This move was sharply criticized by some delegates who saw in such an arrangement a grave risk that the Union would decline into being, both in theory and practice, a subordinate organization. They considered that the Conference should have been consulted in advance and hoped that the new Executive Committee would reconsider the decision. They were answered by the President, but without, it would seem, taking up some of their main points, among them being the criticism of the arbitrary nature of the Executive Committee's action at a time when there was in fact no complete and definitive Committee in existence. The IPU has since been granted

the status of consultative organization of Category A.

In addition the Conference adopted resolutions on the refugee problem, on reconstruction and war damage, and on facilitating travel between States. A proposal concerning codification of international law was thoroughly discussed but was referred back to the Committee. At a meeting of the Council it was decided to reconstitute all the seven permanent Study Committees which had been in existence before the war.

Finally, in Cairo, there was a change of President. Henri Carton de Wiart, then 78 years of age, was succeeded by Lord STANSFORD. He had been Minister for India under MacDonald, Minister of Aviation under Attlee, and had been made a Viscount by the Coalition Government in 1942.

An introduction to the work of the post-war period

By this undramatic sequence of events the IPU had recommenced its work. The continuity was almost unbroken. Generally speaking the work was picked up again in 1947 where it had been broken off in 1939, with the same working apparatus and the same lines of activity. For exactly 20 years the work thereafter proceeded in a regular rhythm, with a Council meeting in the spring and a Conference in the autumn as the main annual events. No break occurred in this arrangement until the autumn of 1967 when the 56th Conference, due to be held in Moscow, was cancelled in circumstances which will be related below.

During the 21 post-war years a total of 112 resolutions have been adopted at the IPU Conferences. If we discount 16 which dealt with internal matters, 5 of an obviously temporary nature, and 4 which merely assigned tasks to a Study Committee, or consisted of an addendum to another resolution, the figure is 87. As a background to the development of the Union in this period, it may be of value to classify these resolutions according to subject, so as to give a picture of the direction of the Union's activities. One group consists of 23 resolutions dealing with general problems of world peace, disarmament and the UN. Another group of 18 resolutions deal with parliamentary matters, international law, or other legal subjects. Another 17 were concerned with the special problems of the developing countries. Another 11 resolutions dealt with questions of

economics and communications. Social questions, such as the refugee problem, emigration and immigration, and questions dealing with the position of women and the protection of children, have been brought up in 9 resolutions, while 9 have dealt with cultural matters, science or education. The classification and grouping, as far as details are concerned, may be drawn up on other lines. For example, consideration for the developing countries has often decisively affected the shaping of various resolutions, and thus several more could be added to that group. These figures would nevertheless seem to give a generally correct and informative picture of the work of the Union. It may be added that economic questions and development problems have, naturally enough, been of increasing frequency towards the end of the period, and that the subject of disarmament was first taken up in 1954. It is clear that the date and subjects of the resolutions reflect changes in world politics.

The post-war period has, however, been far from an unbroken continuation of the inter-war period with only those variations in the subjects of resolutions which were motivated by political developments. The difference between the two periods is at least as great as between the first two phases in the Union's history. It may justifiably be said to have been greater, since the changes were more complete and drastic. In fact the last two decades have brought about a total reshaping of the Union. This has not occurred through changes in the external organization or working methods. In these respects there has been a considerable degree of continuity. Nor has the Union lost its unofficial character. Instead, what has changed the Union is the trend in membership. The Union has completely lost its previous character of being mainly a forum for the European parliamentary States and North America. The number of members has increased from 28 at the time of the Cairo Conference to the present 71, with an additional 13 "suspended". Only 27 of the 70 active member groups come from Europe and North America and of these only 18 belong to the IPU's "classical" cadre of members. This development has in no way been uniform and continuous. Instead it reflects the changes in the world situation.

Development of membership in the post-war period

An account of the IPU's development during the post-war years presupposes an account of the changes of membership which took place, and these will now be described. A few words, however, must be said about formalities. We have just seen that the Conference in Cairo rejected the idea of a special procedure for acquiring membership. Such rules were, however, introduced in 1955 when the need for them had been felt in practice. From that year it was evident who were members of the Union, with, however, some few exceptions, caused by "suspensions" which were introduced in the course of the last ten years without formal support in the Statutes. For the first eight years of the post-war period, at any rate, it has been possible to trace the development with very little degree of uncertainty. It has also been possible to differentiate between "observers" and actual delegates of existing groups, a point which had caused a certain amount of difficulty in the preceding period.

We return to the situation at the time of the first IPU Conference after the war. It is important to recall the political situation then. The deterioration in East-West relationships had just entered a decisive phase. Some weeks previously President Truman, in a message to Congress, had proposed military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey in their fight against Communism, and had also laid down the lines for the "Truman Doctrine". According to this doctrine, which was approved by Congress, the security of the USA would always be considered threatened when a totalitarian regime was forced on a free people. Two months later the American Foreign Minister announced the massive aid programme known as the Marshall Plan. Before the end of the year an open breach had occurred between East and West by the rejection by the USSR of the invitation to join in the American programme of reconstruction. The cold war was thereby a fact, and shortly afterwards the Kominform was instituted as a sort of counter-move to the Marshall Plan.

In this difficult situation the IPU entered once again into its international work. A comparison between the IPU and the UN in 1947 gives a completely different, and for the IPU much more unfavourable, picture than a comparison with the League of Nations in 1921-22. While the UN then consisted of 55 countries, only 28 of them were represented in the IPU. It is true that, from the

Eastern bloc, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia participated in the work of the IPU—Czechoslovakia should not be counted as a communist country until 1948—but the USSR remained aloof. An invitation to participate in the Conference had been sent to Moscow with information about the IPU, but no reply had been forthcoming.

When the next Conference took place in Rome in 1948, new groups had appeared from Burma, Ceylon, Monaco and Pakistan. All the groups except the Irish were represented and observers had also arrived from a further seven nations, viz. Chile, Colombia, Haiti, India, Panama, Paraguay and Venezuela. Hopes were thus raised of finally achieving the broader basis for the IPU, towards which efforts had been directed since before the First World War.

During the following year, however, the IPU suffered a serious reverse when the States belonging to the communist bloc withdrew from the work of the Union. Bulgarian, Czech and Polish delegates took part in the Council meeting at Nice in April 1949, but at the Conference held in Stockholm that autumn the Eastern bloc was not represented and was not to reappear for the next five years.

The fact that the East European States turned their backs on the IPU was manifestly an expression of the intensification of the cold war during this period. The signing of the Atlantic Pact (NATO) in April 1949 and the first Russian atomic explosion in September of the same year had been important stages in this development. At the same time the Far East was a source of serious disturbance. The civil war in China had flared up again in 1948 and towards the end of 1949 it resulted in the communist take-over on the mainland and the expulsion of the previous government to Formosa. In June 1950 the Korean War broke out.

The Czech and Polish Groups gave as reason for their absence from the work of the IPU the Union's indifference to the communist-inspired World Congress of Peace Partisans. The Polish Group expressed their views in a letter just prior to the Council meeting in Monaco in April 1950. The Czechs despatched a letter later that year, which they concluded by announcing their withdrawal from the Union. The Poles had not made a similar declaration. The Bulgarians, Hungarians and Rumanians remained silent.

In Monaco the Council unanimously adopted a resolution regretting the absence of the East European States. Efforts to get them to

modify their attitude were made in vain. For example, the Executive Committee managed to obtain the services of a prominent Italian communist who was willing to travel to the capitals of Eastern Europe, but he was informed that such a journey would not be looked upon with favour. Simultaneously he was informed that the Bulgarian Group had been dissolved.

During the next few years the IPU had no contact with Eastern Europe, with one exception, the Polish Group. At the Council meeting in the autumn of 1952 the Secretary General was able to report certain news from this Group. It had informed the Secretary that it had held several meetings in 1951 and that it would shortly forward its annual subscription, but that it could not send representatives to the meeting because of an impending election. The subscription was thereafter paid. It is thus correct to consider the Polish Group as having remained in the IPU, although as a passive member, while the other four resigned in 1950.

It should be noted that Yugoslavia, which at that period was asserting her independence from the USSR, continued to take part in the work of the IPU. For the Union the loss of the East European States was balanced by new members coming forward every year from other quarters, viz. India in 1949, Iran, Israel and Thailand in 1950, Brazil, Iceland and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1951, and Japan in 1952. That groups from the latter two States could join the Union without dispute was obviously a result of the absence of the East Europeans. The Federal Republic of Germany is still not a member of the UN, and Japan first gained entry in 1956, her previous applications having met with a Soviet veto. During 1953 the Union lost one member, as the revolution in Egypt which had overthrown the monarchy had also resulted in the cessation of inter-parliamentary activity. The total number of members, however, remained constant through the formation of an Indonesian Group. It has been previously mentioned that a group was in existence in that country during the inter-war years, but the war of independence had made continued activity impossible.

By the end of 1953 the Union had 36 member groups. Their geographical distribution differed considerably from that of previous periods. There were 20 groups in Europe, counting the Polish; Asia had 14 and the USA and Brazil were represented. The very slight progress in Latin America is worthy of note, especially having regard

to the many years of efforts devoted to trying to bring about inter-parliamentary activity there. Several States had sent observers, as they had done during some of the inter-war years, viz. Argentine, Chile and Haiti on three occasions, Colombia, Ecuador and Panama twice, and Mexico, Paraguay and Venezuela once.

During the period in question the IPU had to decide a specially intricate question of membership which caused many long debates on matters of principle and which contributed to a considerable degree to the drawing-up of new rules for membership in 1955. The problem was Spain. Because of the special relevance to the Statutes it would be wrong to ignore this episode.

At the Council meeting in Cairo in 1947 a message arrived from the Chairman of the old Spanish Group, in exile for many years, requesting that the Group should once again be allowed to take part in the proceedings of the Union. The Executive Committee proposed to the Council that, while expressing its deep sympathy for Spanish democracy, it should give the Committee the task of investigating the means existing under the Statutes to make the participation of the Group possible. Answering a question by a French delegate, the Secretary General said that the Executive Committee did not intend to set up any conditions for the acceptance of the Spanish Group but that the Group should merely be asked to nominate representatives on the Council and the Committees. After the Committee's wording had been changed in accordance with a Belgian suggestion, the Council decided to request the Committee "to arrange for such participation in accordance with the Statutes". A Swiss delegate requested that the matter be referred to the Political Committee but this was rejected by 30 votes to 4, the minority consisting of the Swiss and Egyptian delegates. The Spaniards were represented at the next Council meeting and thereafter took part in the Union's work on several occasions.

When the Union held a Conference in Istanbul in the autumn of 1951, however, the Spanish delegates were refused visas and in consequence submitted a communication to the Council. At the suggestion of the President the letter was handed over to the Executive Committee for consideration, without very much debate. One of the Danish members considered that, in future, advance information should be sought as to whether all members would be allowed to attend a Conference. The same situation occurred again at the

next Conference in Berne in 1952. The Swiss Government also refused to grant visas to the Spaniards. This time a long debate took place, after which the Council unanimously decided to refer the matter once more to the Executive Committee for examination. The Council added that it would then issue a final decision and that it would be guided by the Statutes and international law in its consideration of the matter.

The matter was raised again at the Council meeting in the spring of 1953 when the Chairman of the Italian Group, Mr. Giuseppe Codacci-Pisanelli, presented the Committee's opinion. This was that the Spanish Group should be recognized, but that it occupied a special position and that it could not be demanded of any government or member group to accept Spanish delegates in their country if unwelcome for any political reason. The Committee was strongly supported by the French, Norwegian and Yugoslav speakers, while the Chairman of the British Group sharply opposed them on the ground that the Committee had not followed the Statutes. After an hour's debate it was decided to refer the question concerning the prerequisites for recognition as a national group to the Juridical Committee. The question came up again at the spring meeting in 1954 when it was announced that the Committee, by a majority decision, had taken the view that it was not advisable to change the Statutes at the present time. The British representative said that his Group accepted the majority decision but requested that a proposed amendment of Article 3 of the Statutes, which he presented, should be made known to all members. The proposal contained the statement that the Union should be "composed of national groups constituted by Parliaments functioning as such within the territory of the State they represent". The Council decided to approve the Committee's standpoint and to accept the British request.

Already at the autumn meeting in 1954, however, the Council decided to set up a sub-committee to investigate certain amendments of the Statutes, among which Article 3. At the spring meeting in 1955 the sub-committee's report was presented by Codacci-Pisanelli. It was suggested that Article 3 should be worded: "National Groups constituted in Parliaments functioning as such within the territory of which they represent the population, in a State recognized as a subject of international law". The influence of the previous British proposal is obvious. Furthermore, it should be the task of the Execu-

tive Committee, when new groups were formed, to investigate whether the stated conditions were met, and to inform the Council of its conclusions. The proposal was accepted by the Council unanimously and without debate. Surprisingly enough the Spanish Group was represented at this meeting.

The proposed amendment of the Statutes was adopted at the autumn Conference. Two points from Codacci-Pisanelli's presentation of the proposal are worthy of note. Firstly he informed the Conference that the Committee had discussed whether acceptance of a group should be conditional on free elections, but had decided not to impose this condition. Secondly he stated expressly that the amendment should not affect the status quo. No group should run the risk of being excluded. This latter point is surprising since the contrary had already been established; for the amendment had been put into effect by the Executive Committee and the Council before being decided by the Conference. At the Council meeting, on the day before the Conference, the Council had approved the conclusions of the Executive Committee, that four new groups which had applied for membership, among them one from the Cortes in Madrid, fulfilled the requirements of the Statutes. Afterwards a French delegate had reacted to this and maintained that a ballot should have been taken and that the decision implied a *de facto* exclusion of the Spanish exile Group, which was not represented at the Conference. On this point the President said that the Statutes must be observed. This finally ended the long and, for the Union, troublesome conflict concerning the Spanish representation.

At the point of time we have now reached, a considerable change had taken place in the state of world affairs. After years of increasing tension, signs of a gradual improvement had been seen during 1952 and even more so during 1953, after Stalin's death. Two important signs of an increasing stability were the armistice in Korea in 1953 and in Indo-China in 1954.

The milder political climate, reached under the shadow of the balance of terror, brought about a radical change for the IPU. The East European States, which had withdrawn from the work of the Union in 1949, now returned: firstly Poland in the spring of 1954, then Bulgaria and Hungary in the autumn of the same year, Czechoslovakia and Rumania at the spring meeting in 1955. And at the Council meeting before the Conference in Helsinki in the autumn

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of 1955, where the new membership rules were applied for the first time, applications from the USSR and Albania were also accepted. The Union had thus reached one of the most important milestones in its history.

The fourth group to become a member at the Council meeting in the autumn of 1955 was from Liberia. The one remaining of the nine "Founder States" from 1889 had thus returned. A group from the Sudan had already been represented at the spring meeting. After this expansion, comprising no less than ten new groups in two years, the IPU had 46 members; the UN at the same time had no more than 60 members. The same year, however, was also a turning point in the history of the UN. For the last five years the number of member States had been unchanged, since the veto rights of the Great Powers had been systematically used to stop candidates supported by the other side. At the end of the 1955 General Assembly an agreement was reached which allowed 16 new members to be elected at one time. Since then the number of UN members has successively increased up to the present figure of 126. The only important conflict has been on the question of China. Controversy arose also over the membership of the Mongolian People's Republic, which was finally elected in 1961.

Thus, if the increase in IPU membership in 1955 to some extent forms a parallel to the developments in the UN, the following years also showed similar likenesses, both in positive developments and in conflicts. The IPU has also experienced problems similar to the UN disputes about China and Mongolia. These conflicts have without doubt been of significance for the development of the Union and have left their mark to a greater extent than the usual minor political skirmishes. An account of the events should therefore be given.

Before we go into details, we should consider the regulations adopted in 1955. The events cannot be correctly evaluated unless the contents of the Statutes are examined. A comparison with the UN is also of value.

We should first bear in mind the UN rules for granting of membership. These are contained in Article 4 of the Charter. According to this membership of the UN is open to all peace-loving nations which accept the obligations laid down in the Charter, and which in the opinion of the organization are both willing and able to meet these obligations. This last point implies that it is not a question of

a mere formal legal test, but of a political judgment and decision.

If we look at the IPU Statutes, we find an important difference. They aim at the recognition of the existence of certain criteria, and not at a political decision. It is expressly stated that groups which comply with the definition have "the right" to join and that the Executive Committee shall decide whether the conditions are fulfilled. These are essentially two, expressed in the words "a State recognized as a subject of international law" and "Parliaments functioning as such". The latter has been applied very freely. As has been mentioned, the idea of requiring free elections was rejected. It has only once occurred, moreover, that an application for membership has been opposed because of doubts whether the group in question had been formed within a Parliament which could be verified as functioning as such. This point has, however, been of importance for the "suspensions", which will be dealt with later. It may be ignored at this juncture. The first point is the central one, and considerable controversy has arisen about its application. Political considerations have often decided the standpoints taken, just as if the IPU Statutes were similar to the UN Charter on this point. It must, however, also be admitted that the Statutes have not been given a completely satisfactory wording. By containing the word "recognized" they may be said to give a certain formal cover for political considerations, even if the intention is clear and the records of the work leading up to their adoption provides no basis for another interpretation than that a purely judicial scrutiny should take place.

As far as procedure is concerned, the UN Charter says that decisions shall be made by the General Assembly after approval has been given by the Security Council, while the IPU Statutes in their 1955 form made it the responsibility of the Executive Committee to establish the facts of the case and to "inform the Council of its conclusions". This point was also unclear and caused considerable difficulties.

We now return to the controversial questions of membership in the Union. In 1955 three problematical applications for membership were received, from the two Chinas and the German Democratic Republic. The Executive Committee came to a negative decision in the latter case, after which the application was withdrawn. The German Democratic Republic has not applied for membership since. The Chinese applications were first shelved by the Committee and

were thereafter examined at a meeting in November 1955. A new postponement was first requested, and the ballot resulted in a 3—3 tie. According to the Rules the President may exercise a vote only in the case of a tie, and he now voted against a postponement. When the matter came up for consideration, the votes were once again divided in the case of both applications. In this situation the President voted for Peking and against Formosa, giving at the same time his reasons, from which the following is worth quoting: "When our report reaches the Council, which is the Governing Body of the Union, the matter can be fully discussed and a motion made for such amendment or suspension of Article 3 as may be considered necessary." This may seem to be a strange comment, as the Statutes which are the basic laws of the organization should always be carefully followed. It should be noted as a background to the outcome in the Council.

With the help of Lord Stansgate's vote the Executive Committee had decided that the Peking Group, not the Formosa Group, met the requirements of the Statutes and had the right to be accepted as a member. The Council was informed of this decision. A long discussion took place at the spring meeting in 1956. It is meaningless to give an account of the debate, which was filled with endless argumentation and hair-splitting on the interpretation of the Statutes and their application, procedure, voting rules, etc. It should be sufficient to note one important point of controversy, namely whether the Council was, in fact, authorized to make a decision on the matter or whether, under the Statutes, the Executive Committee had been granted exclusive authority. It seems impossible on objective legal grounds to reject the latter interpretation, but the decision was not taken on these grounds. The final result was that the Council approved a Thailand proposal to postpone the examination of the report of the Executive Committee until the question of China's representation in the UN had been settled. Voting was 21 for and 17 against. This decision can best be commented on in the words of Lord Stansgate, that the Council had suspended the application of Article 3. The Statutes seem to have been infringed in two ways, firstly by coming to a decision on a question which lay with the Executive Committee to decide, and secondly by saying neither yes or no but postponing the question indefinitely and allowing an internal problem within the Union to be dependent on what the UN

would decide. No new application for membership has been submitted by either of the two Chinas.

The next controversial matter related to a South Vietnamese Group and was dealt with in the autumn of 1957. By 3 votes to 1 with one abstention the Executive Committee declared that the Group was qualified for membership, but only if an undertaking were given that the Parliament in question merely represented the inhabitants of South Vietnam, and that if a similar application were to come from North Vietnam, this would be judged by the same criteria in accordance with the Statutes. The report was unanimously approved by the Council without debate. A North Vietnam Group requested admission in 1959. The Executive Committee decided by 6 votes to 1 to shelve the matter until additional information had been acquired. This aroused no debate in the Council but was simply recorded in the minutes. The question has not come up again.

The Mongolian People's Republic was the next controversial matter. At the Council meeting in the spring of 1958 the Executive Committee submitted a report on an application from a Mongolian Group. The Committee's opinion, which was unanimous, was that the Group met the requirements of the Statutes. On the insistence of the USA, it was decided, by 32 votes to 25 with one abstention, to refer the matter back to the Committee for further study. The core of the American argument was to question the claim of the Mongolian People's Republic to be an independent State. It was pointed out that Mongolia had been recognized by only three non-communist governments. The Bureau called for the opinion of two experts in international law, an Austrian and a Belgian professor; the former even paid a visit to Mongolia. Both expressed the opinion that the country should be considered a State as far as international law was concerned. The Executive Committee's new, unanimous report was submitted to the spring meeting in 1959; and after a secret ballot, a special decision having been made on this, the report was rejected by 42 votes to 7; there were 4 abstentions and 14 groups did not participate in the voting. The result was a clear repudiation of the Executive Committee and obviously implied, too, that the Council applied other principles of appraisal than those used by the Committee. The latter had adopted a strict interpretation of the Statutes, whereas the Council had taken political points of view into consideration connected with the question of recognition. When the Mongolian

People's Republic became a member of the UN in 1962, the Executive Committee requested the Council to reconsider its decision of 1959. This was approved by 59 votes to 10, with 7 abstentions.

These disputes led in 1959 to a new alteration of Article 3, the aim being to remove any doubt as to who had the right to make the final decision in membership questions. After mentioning the Executive Committee's duty to report its conclusions to the Council, it was added that it was the duty of the Council to decide whether a group could be granted membership. This clearly meant that the Statutes were being brought into line with practice. This decision was taken by the Conference only after considerable discussion, and the voting was 413 to 107 with 87 abstentions. The main opponent was the Chairman of the Swedish Group, Mr. Rickard Sandler, who pointedly declared that questions of membership should be settled on objective, formal grounds and should not be affected by political points of view, and that this was more likely to be achieved in the limited circle of the Executive Committee than in the Council.

A long-drawn-out and troublesome matter was the question of Korean membership. The Executive Committee reported at the autumn meeting in 1959 that a telegram had been received stating that a group had been formed in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Bureau was given the task of examining the matter. A similar report was made at the next meeting of the Council and was noted without discussion. At the autumn meeting in 1960 it was announced that the Committee had studied the application but had been unable to come to any agreement, due to differences of opinion on the interpretation of Article 3. It therefore requested the Council to set up a special committee for the question of interpretation. This was approved by 40 votes to 15 with 3 abstentions. During the debate, as reason for the proposed step, special mention was made of the Council's repudiation of the Committee in the Mongolian question. Later on the same day the Secretary General received a telegram containing an application for membership from the Republic of Korea. He announced this at the next meeting and said he assumed that the Council "would wish to submit this request to the same procedure as that adopted for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea". It was so agreed.

The interpretation committee submitted a five-point report which was approved by the Council at the spring meeting in 1961. There

was general agreement only on the last point, which established three general principles, viz. (1) questions of membership should be decided solely on legal and not on political grounds, (2) the Union should strive for universality, (3) as an independent body the Union should not allow its actions to be influenced by those of other organizations, so relieving itself of responsibility. On other points, dealing for example with certain criteria as to when a system of government should be recognized as an acknowledged international legal entity, voting took place, with the East European delegates as the primary opponents.

The same Council meeting that dealt with the interpretation questions also re-examined the Korean problem, but only insofar as the Republic of Korea was concerned. The Executive Committee had voted 7—1 in favour of admission of the Group provided that it did not claim to represent more than South Korea. After a debate, in which we may note solely that both sides ignored the newly approved principle (1), the decision of the Executive Committee was approved by 34 votes to 12 with 11 abstentions. Two members refused to take part in the voting.

The question came up again at the next Council meeting. The Executive Committee now stated that the condition imposed for admission of the Korean Group could not now be met as its Parliament had been dissolved. At the suggestion of the President, the Council resolved that under these conditions the Group could not be considered to be a member. At the same meeting the Committee's decision to leave the question of the North Korean Group in abeyance was approved without comment. No information is given in the minutes of this Group and its application.

The Korean problem now vanished from the agenda for several years, but appeared again in 1964. At the spring meeting in that year a report from the Executive Committee on a new application from the Republic of Korea was submitted and approved without debate. By 7 votes to 1 the Committee had decided to postpone its examination until further information had been obtained as to how the recently elected South Korean Parliament was functioning. This is the only occasion in connection with a membership application that the statutory requirement that a Parliament shall function as such has been raised. At the autumn meeting of the Council the Committee announced that it considered that the application should

be approved, but on the same conditions as in 1961. This decision had also been arrived at after a 7—1 vote, and it was approved by the Council by 51 votes to 18 with 9 abstentions. The next point on the agenda was a Committee report on the renewed North Korean application. By 5 votes to 2 with one abstention the Committee had decided to recommend a postponement of a decision until relationships between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the UN had been normalized. This report was approved by 43 votes to 9 with 8 abstentions. Thus both the Council and the Executive Committee had set aside also principle (3) in the unanimous decision of 1961 on the question of interpretation. The South Korean Group later accepted the stipulated conditions and took part in the activities of the Union.

It is obvious that the existence of divided countries is the root of the problems here described. A new controversy of the same kind arose in 1968, this time concerning the representation of Vietnam. An account of this will be given later on. It should be mentioned, however, that there has also in recent years been conflict over an application not emanating from a divided country, namely one from a Portuguese Group. The matter was dealt with by the Executive Committee at the beginning of 1966. By 5 votes to 4 the Committee decided to postpone its examination until the relations between Portugal and the UN had been normalized, the same decision as was made in the case of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The report was approved at the Council's spring meeting by 43 votes to 26 with 7 abstentions. Once again principle (3), and naturally principles (1) and (2) as well, had been ignored.

Other membership questions have been dealt with by the Council unanimously. No opposition has been raised against applications which were sufficiently precise and based on sufficient information. Thus Groups were approved by the Council from Australia, Laos and Peru in 1956, Egypt and Tunisia in 1957, Chile, Ghana, Libya, Panama and Paraguay in 1958, New Zealand and Venezuela in 1959, Canada in 1960, Guatemala and Nigeria in 1961, the Central African Republic and Ethiopia in 1962, the Cameroons, Dahomey, Congo (Kinshasa), Senegal, Sierra Leone and Somalia in 1963, Jordan, Kuwait and Morocco in 1964, Nicaragua in 1965, Mali, Mauritania and Niger in 1966, Malaysia, Nepal and Singapore in 1967, and finally the Ivory Coast and Malawi in 1968.

The Union has, however, not only gained new members. It has also suffered several losses, though no member has formally left the Union since the four East European Groups in 1950. A special case is the fusion of the Egyptian and Syrian Groups, as the two States formed the United Arab Republic in 1958. After Syria's secession from the latter a Syrian Group was reformed in 1962. Otherwise the number of members has been reduced by groups ceasing to exist, or at any rate ceasing to be active, owing to the cessation of their Parliaments as a result of internal troubles. The Statutes contain no rules for such cases, but a special procedure has arisen in practise, involving what may be called "suspension". There is still a certain amount of uncertainty as to the procedure and its implications. This will be dealt with in Chapter V. Here we may merely note the fact that certain groups have left the Union in this way.

The new practice may be said to have begun in 1957 when the Argentine Group was suspended, at its own request, by the Council. Disregarding the lack of uniformity with which these different cases have been dealt with, we can establish that no less than 24 suspensions have occurred. The Argentine Group has been suspended three times. After returning as an active member in 1958 it was suspended in 1962, again only for one year, and also in 1966. Another Group, that from Dahomey, has also been suspended more than once. It was admitted in the autumn of 1963, suspended in the spring of 1964, admitted again as an active group in the autumn of 1964, but again suspended in 1966.

At the present time a further 11 groups are suspended, several for a number of years. The Iraqi Group was suspended as early as 1959, the Burmese in 1962, and those from Guatemala and Syria in 1963. In the following year the Group from Haiti was suspended, in 1965 the Groups from the Central African Republic and Morocco, and in 1966 those from Ghana and Nigeria. In 1967 two Groups were also suspended. The Greek coup d'état resulted for the first time in many years in the suspension of a European group from the IPU. The only occasion on which this had occurred before was in 1959, when the Group from Monaco was suspended; it was readmitted in 1963. The second Group suspended in 1967 was from Sierra Leone.

The other eight cases of inactivity were the following. The Group from Peru was absent 1957—58, Pakistan 1959—63, Paraguay 1959—61, Sudan 1959—66, Turkey 1960—61, the Congo (Kinshasa) 1964—66 and the Republic of Vietnam 1964—68.

Results and problems of the development

We have now reached the end of the account of the development of IPU membership after the war. It will be evident that it has led to a total reshaping of the organization. The European-American dominance vanished a long while ago. It was lost in 1958 and since 1962 the African, Asian and Latin-American Groups have been in the majority. It must be noted, however, that the Union has not the universal character of the UN. Even if the 13 suspended groups are reckoned, and thus bring the total up to 84, there are 49 UN States which are not represented. A number of these do not, however, have any functioning Parliament. Five States are represented in the Union but are not members of the UN, namely the Federal Republic of Germany, Monaco, Switzerland, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Vietnam.

It is obvious that the altered membership has affected the work of the IPU. The very number of participating groups has affected its method of functioning and has necessitated certain organizational reforms. Similarly the geographical extension of the membership has had special consequences. The most important point is that political opposition, and differences in basic ideological values and modes of thought, have appeared in the Union in a way which had no parallel in previous periods. This development is, however, so recent that its results cannot yet be surveyed. It is true that confrontations have occurred between East and West for the last 13 years, but the African, Asian and Latin American members came into majority only in recent years, and they have by no means the same quantitative importance in the Union debates as in the UN. Of the 49 UN States outside the IPU all, with the exception of Portugal and the Soviet Ukraine and White Russia, are from Africa, Asia or Latin America.

It is impossible to give an exact picture of where this development has led the IPU. No finality has been achieved, but perhaps just now the point has been reached at which decisions must be made. This question will be dealt with later on. We shall now examine the concrete changes which have already taken place, and may start with an account of the more important modifications which have been incorporated in the Statutes and in the organization. We have already seen how, as a result of political developments, Article 3 had twice to be revised and was also the subject of a special official interpretation.

An institution which has been decisively affected by the new membership situation is the Executive Committee; its rules have been altered no less than five times. At the beginning of the period, it was a small body, still consisting of five members, the number decided on when it was instituted in 1908. In 1951 it was extended to seven, in 1955 to nine and finally in 1960 to eleven members. Not only the number of members but also the principles of election have been changed. The latter caused disputes already in 1947. When the Council was to set up a list of candidates the five East European Groups who were members at that time requested that they be represented. This was rejected on the grounds that geographical considerations should not play any role. When the matter was put to the vote of the Conference, however, a Yugoslav was elected instead of the Frenchman nominated by the Council. The other members were an American, a Dane and an Egyptian, as well as the newly elected British President of the Council. In the 1951 amendment of the Statutes a regulation was inserted which stated that, when elections were made, consideration should be paid to the candidates' and their groups' contributions to the work of the Union, and that "as far as possible, a fair geographical distribution of membership" should be ensured. In 1955 a stricter formulation was introduced, namely that in elections "an endeavour will be made to ensure a fair geographical distribution". The two other changes of the rules have been of less importance. In 1952 a paragraph was simply inserted, having fallen out by mistake in 1951, and in 1956 it was decided that only candidates nominated by the Council should be eligible and that, if any candidate did not obtain a majority, the question should be referred back to the Council.

In connection with the Cairo Conference in 1947 we have mentioned a proposal for new rules concerning the allocation of votes, aimed at drastically reducing the number of possible supplementary votes. This proposal was referred to a committee for further study. A solution was found in 1955 and has functioned since then, not because it is ideal and satisfies everybody, but rather because of the difficulty of finding a better compromise. All special rules concerning colonies have been removed, but the principles for counting of votes, adopted in 1922, have been retained. The reform was limited to increasing the number of "permanent" votes and reducing the number of supplementary ones. Every group has now at least eight votes

instead of five as previously. The number of additional votes in proportion to population has now been maximized at 12 instead of the previous 23. Finally a large membership of the popularly elected chamber can qualify for two additional votes, instead of three previously. The result is that the range has been reduced from 6—31 votes per group to 8—22. While nine groups commanded between 20 and 30 votes at the 1955 Conference, only four had 20 or over in 1968, namely the USSR with 22, USA with 21 and India and Japan with 20. In 1955 some 60 % of the groups had 8—13 votes each; in 1968 some 70 % had 9—13 votes.

Certain figures of the geographical and political distribution of the votes may be of interest, and we therefore give the 1966 Conference figures with the 1953 figures in brackets: Western Europe 228 (229), Eastern Europe 112 (14), North America 34 (29), Latin America 70 (18), Africa 155 (—), Asia 222 (208) and Australia 23 (—). It should be noted that neither Canada, Egypt, Australia nor New Zealand had member groups in 1953.

Concerning the amendments of the Statutes in the post-war years it should be further noted that special periods of office were introduced for the President of the Council in 1953. He is now elected for three years and this mandate can only be prolonged for a further two. Previously the election had taken place annually. The new rules were first applied to the Presidency of Lord Stansgate for the period 1954—57. He did not accept re-election but retired on reaching the age of 80. This meant a considerable rejuvenation as the already-mentioned Giuseppe CODACCI-PISANELLI, Italian lawyer and Minister of Defence under De Gaspari, was elected as his successor at the age of 44. He was re-elected in 1960. The intention was that he should be succeeded by the Chairman of the Brazilian Group, but just before the Conference took place in Brasilia in 1962, he lost his seat in Parliament. Under the circumstances the host country was invited to nominate another candidate. The choice fell on the then Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, Ranieri MAZZILLI, who functioned as President of the 1958 and 1962 Conferences. He was re-elected in 1965 but was forced to resign in 1967 when he lost his seat in the Brazilian elections.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the Secretary General is elected for four years. A change of office-holder took place in 1953 when Léopold Boissier resigned after 20 years of service and

was replaced by André DE BLONAY, a Swiss who had worked in international affairs since 1937, and since 1947 as head of UNESCO's External Affairs Department.

As far as the changes in the Union's regulations are concerned, we should briefly note that the Conference Rules were, of course, altered on several occasions, most recently in 1966, as a consequence of the vastly increased number of delegations. We shall not concern ourselves with these matters at this juncture, but refer to the account of the present working procedures in Chapter V.

A reorganization of the Study Committees was carried out in 1960, and their number was reduced from seven to five. The Committee for Political and Organizational Questions was merged with the Disarmament Committee to form a Committee for Political Questions, International Security and Disarmament. Organizational questions were transferred to the Juridical Committee which was renamed the Parliamentary and Juridical Committee. The two Committees dealing, on the one hand with economics and finance, and on the other with social and humanitarian questions, were merged to form an Economic and Social Committee. The Committee for Intellectual Relations was renamed the Cultural Committee, in 1967 altered to Educational, Scientific and Cultural Committee. Only one Committee remained unaltered, viz. the Committee for Non-Self-Governing Territories and Ethnic Questions. This was a much needed reorganization, as no changes had been made since the 1920's, except in 1936 when the Committee for Intellectual Relations had been created. The reduction in numbers should be seen as an attempt to gain greater efficiency and improved planning for the Conferences, which undeniably found it difficult to deal adequately with questions from all the Committees. Discussions in the Council as to which questions should be placed on the agenda for the next Conference and those which, because of shortage of time, must be struck off, are still often protracted and troublesome.

The selection of Conference sites in recent years has also been affected by the many new members. Up to 1955 the Union circulated between the old cities. After the Conference in Stockholm, there followed Conferences in Dublin in 1950, Istanbul in 1951, Berne in 1952, Washington in 1953, and Vienna in 1954, and, as already mentioned, Helsinki in 1955. Since then the Council has usually chosen new sites, on several occasions far from Europe. The 1956 Confer-

ence, the first in Asia, was held in Bangkok, and in 1958 a meeting was held for the first time in Latin America, in Rio de Janeiro. Four years later Brazil was again the host country, as a consequence of a coup d'état in Argentina which prevented the meeting being held in Buenos Aires. In the intervening years a Conference had been held in London in 1957 and for the first and only time in Eastern Europe, in Warsaw in 1959. In the following year the meeting was once more held in Asia, in Tokyo. The 1961, 1963 and 1964 Conferences were held in Europe, in Brussels, Belgrade and Copenhagen, while the last three have been in Ottawa, Teheran and Lima. Host countries for the next two Conferences will be India and the Netherlands.

During the last few years the Council has sometimes chosen other places for its spring meetings and, in relation to the Bureau, more remote places. At first it was the custom to hold these sessions where the Bureau was located, first in Brussels and later in Geneva. Later a change was made and localities on the Mediterranean were selected such as Nice, Monaco, and during the last decade also Rome, Dubrovnik, Athens and Palma de Mallorca. However, the Council met in Dublin in 1965, in Canberra in 1966 and in Dakar, the capital of Senegal, in 1968. It has decided to meet in Vienna in 1969 and in Monaco in 1970.

It may also be mentioned that the Executive Committee has sometimes met at other localities than Geneva or where a Conference or Council meeting was being held. For example the Committee met in Moscow in 1959 after the Warsaw Conference.

The number of delegates has naturally varied with the site of the Conference, but has by no means risen as fast as the increase in membership. The size of delegations has in fact fallen. We have already seen in the previous chapter that steps were taken in this direction by changes of the Statutes in 1921—22 and 1931. No such step has been taken during the period under consideration. During the first ten years of the period the number of delegates was by no means remarkable. In Vienna in 1954 more than 300 foreign delegates came for the first time. There were about 400 at the next four Conferences in Europe and considerably fewer at the four in Asia and South America. More than 500 delegates came to Copenhagen in 1964, a record number, and about 400 to both Ottawa and Teheran, a large number in relation to the geographical location.

It may be of interest to give more details of the Conference at

Teheran in 1966. A total of 57 delegations were present, consisting of 427 delegates and 100 officials. Each delegation thus consisted of an average of 7—8 parliamentarians. The largest were the Italian and Japanese with 19 delegates each, then the American with 18, and the Brazilian and British with 17. The USSR sent seven members. Four delegations had only two parliamentarians each. The Bulgarian, Greek, Hungarian and Polish delegations consisted of three members, while for example the Czech, Rumanian and Yugoslav had four members each. It will be seen that the East European delegations were generally on the small side, while several of the Western nations had large delegations. In addition to those already mentioned we may note the Canadian, Dutch and German delegations with 12 members each. The large number of officials was due to a few delegations, mainly the American, British, Italian, Japanese and Russian, which together brought with them 32 advisors and secretaries as well as five interpreters. Only 19 of the 57 delegations were accompanied by more than one official.

We have now given an account of the main external lines of development in the post-war years. As a background to what follows we shall now make some general observations on the resolutions adopted and on other manifestations of inter-parliamentary activity.

It is obvious that the new, rather rapidly-developing situation caused considerable difficulties for the Union. Previously it had been possible without too great trouble to get the delegates, or at least the great majority of them, to agree on concrete statements and proposals, but now difficulties have arisen of a kind never experienced before. As will have appeared from the account of the allocation of votes, no such majority situation has arisen that certain groups could be sure of exercising a decisive influence provided that they form a united front. And to force through resolutions with a small majority and against powerful opposition would be at once extremely risky for the Union and rather pointless for the victors. As an unofficial organization the IPU is confined to achieving its effect mainly through the weight of its expressions of opinion, to the extent it wishes to exert any direct influence at all. It therefore becomes a natural striving to obtain as wide a support as possible for the resolutions that are adopted. But it is obvious that, if this policy is successful, the final product would often contain very little of note, if the members are so numerous and of so many different opinions as is now the case

in the Union. Expressions of opinion may be expected to be couched in general terms, and thus the organization runs the risk of seeing its possibilities of exerting influence reduced in this way as well. This is undoubtedly a dilemma for the IPU. The finding of a solution to this problem is a very important task, the more so as the rapid growth of international organizations automatically changed the position of the Union, which originally was indubitably an important one.

The Union has not yet found a solution to these problems, but a glance at the resolutions which have been adopted during recent years will give an indication of the direction which has hitherto been chosen. Some figures will be given in illustration of this. During the 13 Conferences since 1955 in Helsinki, where all the East European States were present for the first time, a total of 58 resolutions have been adopted, disregarding the purely internal ones, as well as a couple of obviously temporary nature. Of these resolutions 38 were adopted unanimously or with occasional negative votes or abstentions. A further 7 were adopted with an altogether overwhelming majority, in some cases with only ayes and abstentions, and without any East-West demarcation in the final voting. In only 13 cases was there a clear-cut difference of opinion. In several of these cases the resolutions were adopted more or less unanimously, and differences of opinion were related to a specific point, a definite proposed alteration or the like. If we look at the different years separately, we see that the 13 resolutions which caused differences of opinions were adopted at eight Conferences. This means that five Conferences were generally unanimous on all matters.

Even without a closer study it is clear that great efforts have been and are being made to achieve unanimity in the final voting. It may then readily be assumed that, in consequence, the resolutions were watered down to a great extent, and on going through them one's suspicions are confirmed. The difference between the resolutions of recent years and those from earlier periods is inescapable.

Even if we ignore the fact that the last 13 years represent a period of development and perhaps a transitional period in the Union's history, it would nevertheless be incorrect to draw the conclusion from the often rather insipid contents of the resolutions that the Union's work has lost interest. Yet it cannot be denied that this will be the case if the development continues in the same way as hitherto. At the present time, however, it would be more correct to

talk about a shift in the centre of gravity: from the final product, the adopted resolution, to the preceding debate and the preliminary work which lies behind it. It is unnecessary to elaborate further on the fact that the debates have completely changed their character. This is a logical consequence of the change in the nature of the Union. The IPU Conferences of today offer completely different possibilities than previously for clarifying and supplying information about the members' political standpoints and considerations. Even at Conferences where there has been agreement on resolutions there has been a lively exchange of opinion. The Conferences also provide considerably greater means of contact than previously. It can hardly be denied that the Union successfully fills the intention as stated in Article 1 of the Statutes, "to promote personal contacts between members of all Parliaments". As far as the preliminary work on resolutions is concerned, it should be noted that, almost without exception, a thorough discussion has taken place in a Study Committee and that almost every unanimously adopted resolution has been a compromise reached after several amendments have been put forward and examined. This thorough scrutiny should not be underestimated. For example, as far as the legal and parliamentary subjects are concerned, it can undeniably be maintained that the thorough examination of the subjects is in itself an important contribution to "the establishment and development of democratic institutions" and can also assist in the "development of parliamentary institutions, with a view to improving the working of those institutions and increasing their prestige", tasks which the Statutes prescribe that the Union shall work for. We shall shortly return to the activities of the Union in the parliamentary field.

The statement that the debates in the IPU Conferences have changed character leads naturally to the question: Has the political face of the Union changed? By this we mean the Union as a whole, as an organization and not as the sum of its members. It is naturally too early to give a definite answer to this question, but certain intimations may be given.

We have said previously that it has been a basic principle of the Union to remain neutral in political conflicts and to avoid all involvement in the internal affairs of States. How this principle is observed is obviously of great importance for what may be called the political face of the Union. It has been the subject of several debates

and decisions during recent years. The most important will be mentioned here.

At the Council meeting in Athens 1960 the President announced that the Tunisian Group had submitted a draft decision on "The question of torture and inhuman methods practised in the prisons and detention camps of Algeria". On this point the President stated "that it would be against the Statutes and traditions of the Council to take up this item as worded by the Tunisian Group". It was therefore not taken into consideration.

Three incidents should be noted from the Council meeting in Brussels 1961. On the request of the United Arab Republic Group the Council included in its agenda a supplementary point entitled "The parliamentary situation in South Africa". A draft resolution was submitted by the Group. The President, however, refused to put this proposal to a vote. He declared that it was contrary to the customs and traditions of the Union to interfere in the internal affairs of a specific country. He proposed instead that the Council should confirm the general condemnation it had adopted the year before against all forms of racial discrimination and intolerance. This proposal was unanimously adopted by the Council, the members of the United Arab Republic abstaining. — Nine other delegations, among them the American and British, had proposed an appeal to the Turkish Government "to act with clemency and magnanimity towards their opponents", against the background of the severe sentences inflicted upon a number of Turkish politicians. The President once again stressed the importance of the Union's rule of non-interference in the internal affairs of a specific country. The result was that the Council adopted a generally worded appeal "to all Governments" to act with clemency in similar cases, without mentioning Turkey. — Finally, the question arose of the admissibility of an amendment submitted by four Arab Groups in connection with a draft resolution concerning the development of non-self-governing territories. The point was the Algerian crisis. The President declared himself obliged to refuse to put the amendment to a vote in view of its non-compliance with the Statutes.

The standpoint taken by Mr. Codacci-Pisanelli in 1960 and 1961, which was accepted by the Council, has, however, been abandoned on some occasions in recent years. Two cases deserve special mention. At the Ottawa Conference in 1965 a resolution was adopted,

by 565 votes to 10 with 99 abstentions, on South Africa's apartheid policy. The resolution ran as follows:

The 54th Inter-Parliamentary Conference,

Stressing the great importance of the historic documents aimed at abolishing racialism in all its manifestations, namely, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination,

Noting that the Government of the Republic of South Africa, in defiance of the said Declarations, of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and other UN organs condemning apartheid, continues these policies which constitute a grave crime against humanity,

Strongly condemns the policy of apartheid prevailing in the Republic of South Africa;

Appeals to all the Parliaments of the world to urge their respective Governments to ensure the immediate carrying out of the resolutions and recommendations of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly for putting an end to the policy of apartheid.

When the question was debated by the Council in Copenhagen 1964, the Secretary General drew attention to the principle of neutrality. He wished to stress the importance of the matter for the future of the Union and pointed out that the Union had always abstained from intervening in internal affairs of countries, from making pronouncements on conflicts which brought into opposition two or more States or accusing any particular Government or Parliament. No comment was made on this statement.

In May 1967 the Acting President of the Council sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister of Greece after the coup d'état:

In my capacity as President of Inter-Parliamentary Union reflecting world parliamentary opinion I wish to express anxiety experienced in Parliamentary circles of numerous countries as result of suppression of representative institutions in Greece. Our members would like assurances that their colleagues currently detained are treated in accordance with principles of humanity enjoy guarantees for their defence and will be released as soon as possible. Are convinced that Greece cradle of democracy will soon return to constitutional regime founded on the principle of representation.

This step taken by the President won unanimous approval by the Council, which passed the following resolution at its meeting in Geneva in September the same year:

The post-war period

The Inter-Parliamentary Council,

Expresses its approval to the Acting President of the Union for the steps taken in connection with the persecution of members of Parliament in Greece and renews its request that practices contrary to the principles of democracy and humanitarianism should cease.

At its session after the Council meeting the Executive Committee instructed the President to make any useful *démarches* including, if necessary, a visit to Athens, if he thought it advisable. The President addressed a letter, through the intermediary of the Greek Ambassador in Switzerland, to the authorities of Greece, informing them of his intention to go to Greece in order to see from a strictly humanitarian point of view the conditions under which those Greek parliamentarians who were in prison were living. He obtained from the Tunisian President the diplomatic support of Tunisia in order that his mission might be carried out. However, his request met with no reply. At its meeting in Dakar the Council unanimously adopted the following decision:

The Inter-Parliamentary Council

1. *Notes* the initiatives undertaken by its Acting President with regard to respect for the fundamental rights and liberties of Greek parliamentarians and citizens and for the re-establishment of parliamentary democracy in Greece;
2. *Reiterates* its confidence in him to continue the efforts already undertaken and *requests* him to make a report to the 103rd session of the Council at Lima.

It is obvious that these expressions of opinion are in direct conflict with previous practice. It is especially interesting to compare them with the earlier described course of events in 1933, when the Council dealt with a Swiss motion on the imprisonment of parliamentarians in National-Socialist Germany. Such a comparison also makes it clear that a pure matter of principle is concerned. We need hardly elaborate the point that the members of the Council and the then Secretary General, who energetically tried to prevent an expression of opinion in 1933, did not have a more positive attitude to Hitler than people had towards South Africa in 1965 or to the military government of Greece in 1967. A clear departure has been made from previous practice.

It is of course extremely likely that the expressions of opinion mentioned before were affected by the facts that the Greek Group had been automatically suspended and that South Africa is not repre-

sented in the Union, and is not likely to be so in the present situation, as the rejection of the Portuguese application in 1966 shows. As far as the Greek case is concerned, it should also be noted that no corresponding expression of opinion had occurred in connection with any of the other 23 cases when groups were dissolved as a result of internal upheavals.

In addition to these two cases we should mention that several proposals, containing criticism against specific countries, have been put to a vote but defeated on other occasions. Condemnation of the USA as aggressor in Vietnam and of Israel as aggressor in the Middle East has, for instance, been proposed by the USSR Group.

For the Union these digressions from the principle of neutrality have been of great significance. It seems undeniable that they have somewhat changed what we have called the political face of the Union. We should bear in mind that the maintenance of the principle in question had previously been described as a *sine qua non* for the IPU, if it was to exercise any influence. Naturally this point of view is arguable, especially when political conditions change. The new course has, however, contributed to a crisis within the Union. This course was followed at the Conference in Lima in 1968, where it resulted in an open conflict with the USSR and several other members from communist countries. This conflict was the summit of a crisis which began in the summer of 1967. We shall give an account of these recent events later in this chapter. First we shall pay attention to the efforts made by the Union in the last few years to exercise an active influence, specially in four areas.

To start with there are the efforts made in the field of parliamentarism. For a long period the Union has carried on important work on problems of parliamentary procedure. This has been done to a large extent by the "Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments", an organization closely related to but formally independent from the IPU, and formed in the 1930's. The Association publishes, with financial assistance from the IPU, a journal "Parliamentary and Constitutional Informations", issued four times a year in English and French. The Association has also compiled a number of major surveys on parliamentary subjects, which have been published in the journal and have sometimes been used as a basis for the work of the Union's Parliamentary and Juridical Committee. In 1961 the Union published, in English and French, a book giving the results of an

extensive survey of Parliaments in different countries, a new edition of which was published at the beginning of 1967. A new and important initiative taken some years ago resulted in the establishment of the International Centre of Parliamentary Documentation in 1965. This was opened in Geneva in the autumn of 1965 with an international symposium on current parliamentary problems. The Centre comprises a library and a documentation section for parliamentary and constitutional information. The intention is to collect constitutional laws, parliamentary rules of procedure, election laws and election statistics from different countries, in order to be able to furnish information to the groups, universities, research workers and others, and to promote the international exchange of ideas and information. It is intended that a new symposium shall be held in December 1968, this time dealing with the means available to Parliaments for contact with public opinion through press, radio and television.

Another initiative from recent years which deserves mention has been in the sphere of regional activity. In December 1965 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution proposing measures on the regional level for the improvement of contact between European States with different social and political systems. The proposal originally came from Rumania. At the Council meeting in Canberra in the following year a motion on the subject from the Yugoslav Group was unanimously adopted. It expressed the wish for measures to comply with the UN proposal and exhorted the European representatives to support this effort. During the debate representatives of the Belgian, French, Polish and Yugoslav Groups had suggested the idea of a European meeting, and the Belgian delegate had also suggested that it should be held in Brussels. Negotiations were later entered into, and an invitation was issued by the Belgian Group for a meeting to be held at the beginning of June 1967. This meeting had, however, to be cancelled when the East European States refused to participate on the grounds that the German Democratic Republic would not be represented.

At its Geneva meeting in September 1967 the Council examined a proposal by the Danish Group regarding the organization of European Inter-Parliamentary Seminars under the auspices of the Union. The intention was that such a Seminar should be arranged each year, alternating between East and West Europe, for study primarily of the political, economic, social and cultural conditions of the host country.

The subject was placed on the agenda of the Parliamentary and Juridical Committee which in Dakar gave its approval of the initiative.

Special efforts have been made by the Union in recent years to stimulate cooperation with other international organizations. At the Ottawa Conference in 1965 a resolution on the relations with UNESCO was adopted. In this resolution it was first stated that, in 1962, the IPU had been granted the status of consultative body in category B, which involved the duty of giving advice and help if so requested, to contribute to the implementation of certain parts of UNESCO's programme, and to issue periodic reports on the Union's contributions to the organization. The resolution gave the Secretary General the task of taking steps to fulfil the IPU's duties towards UNESCO, and exhorted the groups to work for the organization and its aims. In connection therewith a special committee for co-operation between the two organizations was set up. Its most recent meeting was held in Paris in 1967 at the invitation of UNESCO's Secretary General, who took part in the discussions. UNESCO always sends one or two observers to the Union's Conferences and Council meetings.

Relationships with the UN have also been subjected to consideration in recent years, and a special committee was set up in Ottawa to deal with the question. It worked out a draft resolution which was adopted by the Council at Teheran in 1966. It was stated introductorily that the possibilities which existed as a result of the Union's status as a consultative body of category A to the Economic and Social Council could be better utilized. The President and the Secretary General were given the task of commencing discussions as soon as possible with the Secretary General of the UN on means for the development of new forms of cooperation. Three concrete proposals were made, viz. at each Conference to hold a debate on important problems based on a message from the Secretary General of the UN or in his name, that the President of the Council should present to the General Assembly the points of view of the Union on certain subjects within the UN sphere of activity, and that various UN bodies should consult the Union on questions within its sphere, mainly dealing with the establishment, organization and function of parliamentary institutions. In connection with this resolution the Secretary General visited the UN headquarters at the beginning of 1967

and had discussions with U Thant and several leading officials. At the Council meeting at Palma the UN, which had been sending observers to the Union meetings for a considerable time, was represented by a high-ranking official who put forward certain points of view. He proposed that the Union enlarge its efforts in the Economic and Social Council by submitting memoranda etc. On the suggestions for new forms of cooperation his attitude was essentially negative, although his wording was diplomatic and friendly. U Thant was willing to provide particulars about UN questions which were suitable for debate at the IPU Conferences, but it was best to let the most appropriate forms for such activities develop on the basis of experience. To allow the President of the Council to appear before the General Assembly would at present give rise to certain problems, and the Union's points of view could always be put forward by the delegates. The consultations which the Union had in mind could be carried out within the framework of UN's technical support programme for developing countries. The Council instructed the Secretary General to continue his efforts to broaden the relations with the UN as laid down in the 1966 resolution.

The last of the initiatives which will be dealt with here were of a completely different nature than those previously mentioned. At the Council meeting at Palma it was decided to send a delegation, consisting of the members of the Executive Committee, to Vietnam to discuss with all parties involved the possibilities of a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The initiative came from the Belgian Group and gave rise to a long debate and sharp differences of opinion. After a number of changes had been made in the original resolution, it was adopted by 51 votes to 21 with 6 abstentions. The East European Groups voted against the proposal. The text finally adopted consisted of two points. The first gave the President the task of asking the Governments in North and South Vietnam, as well as the NLF, whether they were willing to receive a delegation. The second point included a decision to send such a delegation if a positive answer were received from all parties. The first point arose from a Swedish proposal made during the debate. In view of the attitude of the East European delegates during the discussion, the outcome was a foregone conclusion. In fact the President received negative replies from the Government of North Vietnam and the NLF, and a positive one from the Government of South Vietnam.

Another initiative of this type was decided by the Council at Dakar in 1968. A resolution was adopted, with 50 votes to 35, with 13 abstentions, saying that the Council decided "to establish and send as soon as possible a committee of enquiry to investigate for itself the actual conditions and treatment of the people in those parts of Jordanian territory at present occupied by Israel". The Israeli delegates voted against this resolution, and their Government declined to give the necessary authority for the entry of such a delegation.

Although not successful these initiatives deserve to be mentioned because they were intended as direct and active efforts of a kind which had not been questioned since the first years of the Union's existence.

The crisis within the Union from 1967

The different initiatives described here, which have been taken in recent years, reveal efforts to find new ways and forms for inter-parliamentary activity in a situation when circumstances could easily have forced the Union into constant passivity. No real, positive result has yet appeared except the establishment of the Documentation Centre. In fact the Union has entered into a crisis. The most important recent events have been the cancellation of the 1967 Conference, which should have been held in Moscow, and the open conflict with the Groups from the USSR and some other communist countries during the 1968 Conference in Lima. The crisis has its roots in the policy followed by the IPU concerning the representation of divided countries and the digressions from the traditional practice of neutrality in conflicts between States and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

To appreciate correctly the importance which active inter-parliamentary circles had attached to the choice of Moscow as site for a Conference, we must remember what has previously been said about the post-war attitude of the USSR and the other East European States to the Union and about the controversies which had occurred within the Union. Against this background it is easy to understand the Secretary General when, in his report to the Council meeting in Geneva in September 1967 on the development of the Union, he stated that the Moscow Conference had stood out as "the crowning-point of the efforts made in recent years to achieve the ideal of peaceful coexistence among members".

The Soviet offer had been accepted as far back as 1964. The intention had been to hold the 1966 Conference in Moscow and the 1967 in Teheran, but at the spring meeting in 1965 the USSR Group had requested a change, giving as reason certain building work in the Kremlin. This request was accepted. The Conference was thus to have taken place immediately before the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Russian revolution.

After the Council has decided on the site for a Conference, the Secretary General discusses the practical arrangements with the group of the host country. These discussions culminate in a written agreement containing all the details agreed upon. With the wisdom of experience from the rumpus about rejected visa applications of the Spanish exile Group to the Istanbul and Geneva Conferences, the Union sees to it that express agreement is reached concerning invitations and visas, particular consideration being given to groups whose States do not have diplomatic relations with the host country. An agreement to this effect for the Moscow Conference was signed on 11 November 1966. In a letter to the Secretary General on 24 May 1967, however, the chairman of the USSR Group announced that it did not intend to invite the Group of the Republic of Korea. After deliberations between the Secretary General and the Acting President, the latter decided to call the Executive Committee to an extra meeting at Geneva on 3 June. With the exception of the President's post, which was vacant, there was full attendance despite the fact that the meeting was held during the acute Middle East crisis. The American and Russian delegates, however, sent substitutes, as allowed by the Rules. The Committee adopted a resolution in which it—"considering that, in conformity with the Union's principles, an Inter-Parliamentary Conference can only be held if all National Groups are invited and assured of receiving visas or authorization necessary for participation"—requested the USSR Group to reconsider its decision and to submit its final points of view by 12 June at the latest. Decisions were also made as to what should be done in the case of a negative answer, etc. The resolution was adopted by eight members representing Belgium, Canada, Great Britain, Iran, Israel, Senegal and Yugoslavia. The Russian member abstained. The Acting President, as we have already mentioned, votes only when a tie occurs. On 12 June it was announced that the USSR Group maintained its position. Under these circumstances the members of the

Council were consulted in writing concerning two questions: whether they approved the Executive Committee's standpoint of principle, as a result of which the Moscow Conference must now be cancelled and, if so, whether they would empower the President and the Secretary General to take steps to organize a Conference in 1967 elsewhere. The questionnaire was sent to 124 members of the Council, and 82 replies were received. Among those who did not answer were all the East European members except the Bulgarians. To the first question there were 73 affirmative and one negative reply with eight abstentions, and to the second 82 affirmative and seven negative replies with three abstentions. Investigations were accordingly made to see whether a Conference could be arranged in another country, but the attempt was unsuccessful. Instead the Council was summoned to a meeting in Geneva.

In his aforementioned report to this Council meeting, the Secretary General stressed the gravity of the situation. He pointed out that all the recent setbacks experienced by the Union had been caused by difficulties stemming from the existence of divided countries. It was the close relations between the USSR and the Democratic Republic of Korea which certainly influenced the Soviet Group's decision to refuse visas to the delegates of the Republic of Korea. It was also the fact that the parliamentary group established in the Volkskammer of the German Democratic Republic was not invited to participate in the regional Conference at Brussels, which led to the refusal of East European countries to participate and thus to its cancellation. Likewise it was by reason of the existence of two hostile Vietnamese States that the Council's initiative to send a delegation to the Indo-Chinese peninsula had not succeeded. The Union found itself at a crossroad, wrote the Secretary General, and the members of the Council must, therefore, try to reach an agreement as to the limits within which, and the criteria according to which, it was possible to apply the principle of universality, which must be the foundation of an organization such as the Union.

No such agreement as requested by the Secretary General was reached by the Council, however, either at its meeting at Geneva in September 1967, when the deliberations were dominated by the Middle East crisis, or at the spring meeting in Dakar in 1968. It was decided in Dakar to entrust the membership questions to a special committee, appointed by the Executive Committee. This decision

had not yet been effectuated before the Conference in Lima in September 1968.

The inter-parliamentary meetings in Lima were the most eventful during the post-war period. Three important events occurred. The meetings were held in the shadow of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by foreign troops. As a consequence of the deliberations and the decisions on these questions the delegations from the USSR and four other communist countries left the Conference. Prior thereto, the Council had accepted the re-entry of the suspended Group from the Republic of Vietnam as an active member, and a new President of the Council had been elected. We shall give a brief account of these events.

The General Debate was dominated by the Czech crisis. It had been decided that the General Debate should include deliberations on "Concrete measures for ensuring, in particular at the parliamentary level, the implementation of the United Nations declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty". This subject had been brought up at the request of the USSR Group, having regard to the conflict in Vietnam. The Political Committee had presented a draft resolution and appointed as rapporteur a Czech. The Czech delegation, however, announced immediately before the Conference that it was prevented from attending. Through a coincidence of several events, accordingly, the conditions for an open conflict had become particularly acute. We shall not give an account of the discussions, which were extremely stormy. It will suffice to note that a number of amendments to the draft resolution were presented. It was the handling of these within the Political Committee which brought the conflict to its culmen. A drafting committee worked the amendments into one proposal implying, among other things, that a condemnation of the invasion of Czechoslovakia should be added to the original resolution. After a motion for the rejection of this item had been defeated by 28 votes against nine with three abstentions, the delegations from the USSR, Bulgaria, Mongolia, Poland and Hungary left the Conference. They declared that they would discuss within their Groups whether they should remain in the Union. The Rumanian delegates remained but took no further part in the voting on the subject. The abandonment of the original policy of neutrality of the Union had thus led to an open conflict.

This was the logical consequence of the digressions from the traditional principle which we have mentioned previously. In itself, the attitude taken by the organs of the Union was no new feature. We have previously mentioned the decisions concerning South Africa and Greece. Even in this very matter the USSR had earlier suggested a condemnation of the USA as aggressor in Vietnam, as can be seen in the report. The new feature was merely that a motion for criticism of a State represented in the Union won a majority.

The question of the re-entry of the Vietnam Group into the Union was the latest addition to the old disputes concerning the representation of divided countries. We have already mentioned that the Group was suspended in 1964. After a Parliament had been re-established in the Republic of Vietnam it could be foreseen that an application for readmission would be submitted and that its consideration might bring the old antagonisms to a head. Efforts were therefore made, especially by the Nordic Groups, to postpone a decision until the questions of principle had been dealt with by the special committee which was to be appointed. A joint motion for postponement of all controversial questions of membership was presented at the beginning of 1968 by the four Nordic Groups but was not accepted by the Executive Committee. An application from the Republic of Vietnam was received in the spring. At the meeting of the Executive Committee in Lima the Finnish member moved for postponement of the matter, but the President refused to put this to a vote as he considered it to be against the Statutes and the Rules. Thereafter six members voted for and three against the application. In the Council the chairman of the Norwegian Group moved for postponement of the matter until the spring meeting in 1969, but this motion as well was rejected on the grounds that it had been submitted too late in written form. As the Rules do not prescribe that motions shall be presented in writing, the grounds for the rejection are dubious. When put to the vote the application of the Vietnam Group was accepted by 77 ayes against 27 noes and 11 abstentions.

We have already mentioned that Mr. Mazzilli resigned from the presidency of the Council at the beginning of 1967 and that a period of interregnum followed, which was prolonged by one year at the Council meeting at Geneva in 1967. The Acting President was the Tunisian lawyer and parliamentarian, Abderrahman ABDENNEBI. The French social democrat member of Parliament, André CHAN-

The post-war period

DERNAGOR, 47 years of age, former Vice President of the National Assembly, Chairman of the Parliamentary and Juridical Committee of the IPU and member of the Governing Board of the Documentation Centre, was elected President for the years 1968—1971. He was elected in the third round by 67 votes against 48, which were given to the Yugoslavian member of the Executive Committee and of the Governing Board of the Centre, Josa Vilfan.

The account of the development of the IPU must thus be concluded at a critical point. Events have placed the Union in a situation in which it must decide on difficult questions concerning the future development of inter-parliamentary cooperation.

Chapter IV

The Work of the Conferences

The main outlines in the development of the IPU as international organization have been presented in the previous chapters, and we shall now give a brief, systematic survey of its work and achievements. It is necessary, to begin with, to recall that the Union's possibilities of action are limited to the adoption of resolutions in which opinions are expressed or suggestions are put forward. Our task will be to present these resolutions. It is obviously impossible to deal with all of them in detail. We shall therefore confine our account to a survey of the different subjects dealt with at the Union's Conferences at different periods and to brief information about certain main points in the more important resolutions.

The pre-war period

As we have mentioned previously, the original aim of the IPU was to work for the solution of international conflicts by means of arbitration. The question of *international arbitration* completely dominated the first Conferences and continued to occupy a great part of the Union's attention into the first years of the 20th century. The resolutions adopted may be divided, on the basis of their contents, into three categories: appeals for general arbitration agreements, recommendations for arbitral clauses of a more limited scope, and resolutions in which the Conferences expressed their opinion on the question of arbitration agreements between specific States or on special initiatives in this field. The first Conference provided examples of all three types. In the first resolution which was adopted an appeal was made to "all civilized governments" to reach an agreement by which they "without jeopardizing their independence and without admitting any interference in their internal administration" undertook to submit every dispute which arose to an arbitration procedure. The second resolution emphasized the possibilities of arbitration agreements between the USA and France, Italy and Spain.

In the absence of a general agreement the third resolution expressed the desire that clauses be inserted in trade and other special agreements stating that disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the agreements should be settled by arbitration.

We need not go into the details of all the later resolutions adopted on this subject. Four were adopted in 1890, two in 1892, one in each of the years 1894, 1895 and 1896, two in 1897 and one in 1900. At the Vienna Conference in 1903 a very long resolution was first adopted, containing a survey of the developments in this field during the past few years and ending in an appeal. A second resolution suggested an arbitration clause in trade and other agreements. The next Conference took note of the continued development and made a new appeal.

An initiative of considerable scope and importance was brought to a successful conclusion at the 1906 Conference in London. A resolution was adopted, intended for the attention of the second Hague Conference, containing a model for a general arbitration agreement in eight articles. The main question, and the great stumbling-block, was to fix its applicability so that the unavoidable exemptions could not be used in a way which, in reality, would render the agreement valueless. Experience of the fairly numerous arbitration agreements which had appeared at that time showed that the risks of such an eventuality were considerable. The Union's proposals were based on the following technical solution of this problem. In the first article certain generally formulated exemptions were indicated. The agreement was to relate to disputes which did not affect "either the independence, the vital interests or the exercise of sovereignty of the respective countries, nor the interests of third powers". According to the second article each party had the right to decide when an exemption should be applicable. Thereafter, in the third article, certain cases were enumerated in which the parties bound themselves not to apply the exemption rules, i.e. disputes concerning the interpretation or application of sixteen different types of agreements, or concerning the determination in situ of the frontiers between the parties' countries. The proposal was put forward by individual delegates at the Hague Conference in 1907 where, after certain modifications had been made, it was finally adopted by 32 votes of 44. However, as a unanimous vote was required and the minority refused to give way, it was only a moral success for the Union. The Conference adopted

only a general recommendation for compulsory arbitration. At the Berlin Conference in 1908 the Union decided to follow up the initiative and addressed an appeal to the 32 States to give effect to the proposal.

In close association with the work to bring about an international arbitration agreement, efforts were made to bring about the creation of an *International Court*. This question had been brought up at the Rome Conference in 1891 and at the Hague Conference in 1894 a committee of six was appointed to work out a concrete proposal based on four principles. These were (1) that national sovereignty should not be violated, (2) that the adherence of States to a convention concerning an International Court should be wholly voluntary, (3) that all associated States should be equal before the Court, and (4) that the judgements of the Court should be capable of execution. Such a proposal, containing a draft treaty with fourteen articles, was submitted to and adopted by the Brussels Conference in 1895. The main points were the following. The government of each State adhering to the convention should have the right to nominate two judges. These should, however, not participate in the settlement of disputes to which their own nation was a party. The Court procedure was organized as a suit with two stages. Firstly the President of the Court, or on the request of the parties the Court itself, was to nominate a board of arbitration, selected from among the judges, with the task of settling the dispute as a court of first instance. The parties should have the right of appeal within three months of delivery of the judgement. The case would then be dealt with by the Court as such, without the participation of the members who dealt with the case in the first instance or representatives of the disputing States. Such judgement should be final. If agreed thereon, however, the parties could refer a dispute directly to final judgement by the Court. On the question of the execution of judgements of the Court little more could naturally be done than to say that it was left to "the honour and good will of the States involved".

At the following Conferences in 1896 and 1897 resolutions were adopted appealing for the fulfilment of this proposal. The decision of the first Hague Conference in 1899 to set up a permanent Court of Arbitration was rightly regarded by the Union as an important success, even if far from complete. The new Court was in reality neither permanent nor a court, but consisted of a list of judges nominated by

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the governments, among whom members might be selected for each arbitration board as required.

The first Hague Conference was in general of a great importance for the work of the IPU. During the next few years the emphasis in its activities was to bring to completion the work which had been begun and to organize new conferences. It should be specially noted that at its meeting at St. Louis in 1904 the Union adopted a resolution requesting the US President to call a new peace conference. The resolution was handed over to President Theodore Roosevelt, who in reply promised to take the necessary steps within a short period. It is true that he left it to the Russian Czar, who had called the first Hague Conference, to issue invitations to the second, which took place in 1907, but the IPU rightly considered that its efforts had contributed to the decision.

In a resolution at the Paris Conference in 1900 the Union laid down as its three main tasks after the first Hague Conference to work for the following aims: (1) that arbitration should be compulsory within the limits allowed by the sovereignty of States, (2) that all States should concur in the decisions of the Hague Conference, and (3) that the new Court should be a truly permanent institution. It would hardly be of interest to go into the details of all the numerous resolutions in which the Union repeated these desires during subsequent years, or into its work for a new peace conference. Only some main points should be noted. During the years just before the First World War the Union took a new initiative in the question of an International Court. A committee was set up which worked out a proposal for a permanent Court with 14 members and with the powers to hear not only inter-state disputes but also disputes between individuals and between States and individuals. A report was drawn up for the Stockholm Conference in 1914 by the Belgian Senator and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Henri La Fontaine. This was one of the preliminary documents which was printed and distributed before the outbreak of the war forced the postponement of the Conference.

Two further questions which the IPU took up in connection with the Hague Conferences deserve to be mentioned, as they point to the future in a special way, namely the questions of disarmament and of periodic international conferences.

It was intended that the first Hague Conference should deal with the *disarmament* question, but the committee set up for the purpose

did not have time to conclude its work. The question was included for the first time in 1903 among the IPU proposals for tasks for a new peace conference; a special resolution was devoted to the subject. The question was brought up again at the 1905 and 1906 Conferences, the groups being enjoined to work actively for the matter in their homelands. During these years, however, the Union did no more than to request that the subject be included in the agenda of a second Hague Conference, and no independent study was devoted to the question. A change in this respect was apparent in the last years before the First World War. As we have previously mentioned, a special Study Committee for the disarmament question was created in 1910, and a resolution on the subject was adopted in 1912. It can be seen from the text, however, that the real implications and significance of the question were hardly yet clearly understood. The emphasis was laid on the economic consequences, not on the risks for world peace. "The competition of armaments bids fair to bring about the most serious economic crisis which might have a profoundly disturbing effect where social peace is concerned", was the expression used in one of the main statements. At the outbreak of war the Union had begun work on a proposal for a convention aimed at reducing the cost of rearmament.

The discussions concerning the organization of *periodical international peace conferences*, in other words to make an institution of the Hague Conferences, are of interest as a not unimportant step in laying the ideological groundwork for the League of Nations. We cannot go into the actual debates in this context but must be content with a presentation of some of the main points in the resolutions. The first occasion on which the idea came to direct expression was in the resolution from the Conference at St. Louis which was handed to President Roosevelt in 1904. This resolution stated that a second Hague Conference should deal with the question of "the suitability of establishing an International Congress to meet periodically to deliberate on international questions". At the next Conference, in Brussels in 1905, the idea occurred again in two contexts. The American Group presented a proposal in twelve paragraphs on "an International Congress". This should consist of a Senate with two representatives from each State and a Chamber of Deputies with a representation proportional to the "international trade" of the States. It would have the task of deliberating on questions concerning the

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relations between States and of making declarations of rules and general principles pertaining thereto, which should have the force of law. The proposal was referred to a committee for consideration. Another resolution listed the questions which should be considered by a new peace conference. The fourth point dealt with periodical international conferences of a general international character. The next Conference, in London, was in favour of a less radical project. Simultaneously with the expression of a general wish to see that the Hague Conferences were given a more permanent character and were held at fixed periods, it was proposed that a permanent committee be set up to work on the codification and development of international law.

These ideas were not dealt with at the second Hague Conference. At the IPU meeting in Berlin in the following year the American Group again brought up the question of periodic international conferences; the matter was once more referred to a committee. At the 1912 Conference in Geneva it was decided to appeal to governments to use their influence to ensure that peace conferences be automatically convened at regular intervals, independently of any initiative on the part of an individual State, and to request the Council to set up a committee to study the question of the establishment and composition of a permanent organization for the Hague Conferences. As we have already noted, a committee for the "permanent organization of peace conferences" was created in the same year.

In connection with what has been said about the Hague Conferences it should also be noted that, on two occasions, the IPU expressed the wish that all States should be allowed to take part in international congresses, firstly in Rome in 1891, where a European Congress was suggested—naturally enough, as only European States were represented—and again in 1910. This time the reference was to "all civilized States".

Among other subjects often dealt with at the IPU Conferences in the pre-war period, mention should be made of the problems of *neutrality*. At the 1895 Conference a resolution stated that, if a State incorporated permanent neutrality in its constitution, then its neutrality should be respected by other States. The next Conference gave the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau the task for studying the problem of neutrality. A long but fairly general and diffuse resolution on this subject was adopted in 1900. At the Conference in Vienna in 1903

the wish was expressed for a second Hague Conference to deal with questions of neutrality. In a special resolution sympathy was expressed for the efforts of the Scandinavian Groups in striving for the permanent neutrality of their countries. At this stage, however, these problems had hardly been subjected to a thorough study by the Union. During the last years before the outbreak of the First World War some attempts were made in this direction, mainly by the setting up of the previously mentioned Study Committees for the neutralization of inter-ocean straits and canals in 1910, and for the question of permanent neutrality in 1911. The former Committee presented a report to the 1913 Conference. This was approved, and the Committee was commissioned to submit to the next Conference a proposal for an international convention on the subject. This was prevented by the outbreak of war. From the 1913 Conference we may also note a resolution favouring international legal regulations forbidding war loans.

A matter which was discussed on several occasions was the *codification of international law*. The most ardent champion of this idea both during the pre-war and the inter-war period was the Belgian Henri La Fontaine. The subject was debated at the 1899 Conference and was dealt with in two resolutions. One gave the Council the task of presenting to a later Conference a proposal concerning an "international law relating to the rights and duties of States", a task which, of course, the Council was not able to carry out. We have just mentioned the 1906 resolution concerning an international committee for the codification of international law. The 1908 Berlin Conference expressed the desire that the matter should be taken up at a third Hague Conference.

The questions of *good offices and mediation* were dealt with at several Conferences. A lengthy resolution, adopted in 1903, stated that the offer of good offices could never be regarded as an unfriendly act. At the 1905 Conference the drawing up of general rules for good offices was mentioned as one of the tasks for a new Hague Conference. The importance of a mediation institute was emphasized in a 1900 resolution, which recommended that arbitration agreements should contain a clause stating that mediation should take place in disputes where arbitration rules could not be applied. We have already mentioned that a Study Committee was set up in 1912 to deal with questions of arbitration and mediation.

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Other questions of international law which were dealt with at pre-war Conferences were the protection of private property in war-time (resolutions in 1892, 1894 and 1906), the treatment of aliens (1906), the codification of the law dealing with bills of exchange (1908) and the question of forbidding air warfare (1912).

Not until the amendment of the Statutes in 1912 was the way opened for dealing with questions not having a legal association. But, as already mentioned, the war intervened before this could become of any practical significance. A resolution of 1913 pressing for unification of the international postage rate was the only example of the Union engaging in an activity outside its traditional sphere of activities.

The inter-war period

Pre-war inter-parliamentary work had been a concentrated and conscious effort within clearly defined fields. Consequently, and also because there were then only few other international organizations, the Union had without doubt gained a considerable reputation and had succeeded in contributing to international developments in a valuable way. The situation in the inter-war years was quite different, for the Union had then to function in the shadow of the League of Nations and in a continuously widening circle of international organizations. And its own field of work was drastically extended. Practically any international question whatsoever could be brought up at an IPU Conference. The Union changed from being a sort of specialized organization to one which seemed rather to be a general opinion-forming body.

The most important subject in the inter-war IPU Conferences was the question of *disarmament*, which permeated the negotiations from the time when the Union recommenced its work after the end of the war up to the mid-1930's. The Secretary General, Christian Lange, gave great impetus in this respect, as from his entry into the service of the Union in 1909 he had devoted an intense interest to this subject.

There is little reason to examine in detail the lengthy and difficult work which went into the disarmament question in the inter-war years; it will suffice to recall some of the more important facts and dates. In 1920 and 1921 the League of Nations set up two

expert committees to deal with the question. The signing of the Geneva Protocol in 1924 was intended to open the way to a disarmament conference in the following year. The Protocol was, however, rejected. After the signing of the Locarno Treaty in 1925 a preliminary commission was set up by the League at the end of the same year. Not until 1930 was the commission able to present a result in the form of a proposition which, while being far from un-animously accepted, could serve as a basis for a general disarmament conference. Such a conference was finally called in 1932, altogether too late, in a changed world situation, the continuous deterioration of which rendered any success of the part of the conference impossible.

During this period the question was followed with continuous and intense interest by the IPU Conferences. At the first Conference during the period, in Stockholm in 1921, it was the subject of a thorough debate arising out of a report by Mr. Hjalmar Branting. A lengthy resolution was adopted on the subject. New discussions took place and new resolutions were adopted in 1922 and 1923. In the next year two detailed resolutions on the question were passed by the Conference. The first was based on a limitation of armament costs, the other on the peace treaties, which limited the military potential of the former Central Powers in order to render general disarmament possible. Another resolution was adopted in 1925. At the next Conference, in Paris in 1927, a comprehensive technical plan for disarmament was drawn up, which received attention during the work of the League's preparatory commission and later at the Disarmament Conference. Special importance was placed on the limitation of armament costs and on the prohibition of the manufacture of certain types of weapons of a clearly aggressive character, or which could facilitate sudden and unprovoked attacks. In new appeals in each of the years 1930—34 the Conferences returned to the subject and requested the members in every way to strive firstly for the convening of a disarmament conference and secondly for its success.

After 1934 the IPU Conferences adopted no resolutions on the disarmament question as such. In the changed state of world affairs attention was instead concentrated on more limited parts of the problem, where something could still be done, mainly private armaments manufacture and international trade in weapons. These sub-

jects had already been dealt with in resolutions in 1924 and 1931. A new resolution adopted in 1935 noted that the development of events since the previous Conference had reduced the chances of disarmament, but that it seemed possible to achieve certain undertakings from States as regards the manufacture and trade in armaments. The Conference emphasized the importance of a firm control over these activities by all States. This was stated as a prerequisite for an international convention on the question to have any practical significance. The groups were requested to work for the establishment of such a convention.

The setting up of demilitarized zones was regarded as being closely related to the disarmament question and was dealt with thoroughly by the Conferences in 1924 and 1925. In the latter year a lengthy declaration of principle was made in favour of such zones, as well as a detailed proposal for their regulation.

It may be said in general that the IPU ascribed a greater importance to the question of disarmament in the work for peace than was commonly done. The question of *means for guaranteeing international security*, which otherwise took first place in international discussions in the inter-war years, is reflected to a considerably lesser extent in the inter-parliamentary deliberations. From the 1920's there is no record of any resolution on this problem apart from those on disarmament. That the Geneva Protocol was not brought up for consideration, although it was based on a compulsory arbitration process guaranteed by international sanctions and should thus have been of special interest for the IPU, is explained by the fact that it was signed after the IPU Conference at Berne in 1924 and rejected before the Washington-Ottawa Conference in 1925. The reason why the Locarno Pact gave rise to no resolution seems to have been that no Conference was held thereafter until 1927, i.e. after two years had elapsed. The Briand-Kellogg Pact, which condemned war as an action contrary to international law, was dealt with at the subsequent IPU Conference in London in 1930. A resolution stated that the Pact implied a "revolution in international law", and a committee was appointed to study the consequences of the Pact on international law, especially on the matter of sanctions, and on the internal legislation of States, notably on constitutional and penal law.

The Conference in Geneva in 1932 decided to recommend the

creation of a "consultative body" to pronounce upon the scope and applicability of the Pact in concrete cases. The idea was developed further in a detailed resolution at the next year's Conference, which proposed an international agreement on the basis of certain principles which were outlined. The next Conference, at Istanbul in 1934, went even further and recommended the adoption of "a universal system of security" based on six principles, namely the prohibition of any resort to force or violence, the creation of the consultative body, determination of the aggressor, the application of diplomatic, economic or military sanctions, the adoption of preliminary measures of a legislative or administrative nature to facilitate the functioning of the system of sanctions, and the non-recognition of any agreement or new state of affairs brought about by the use of force or violence.

Some of these resolutions brought up questions concerning different reforms of the League of Nations. We may note a resolution from the 1933 Conference dealing with the setting up of an international police force. The Conference recommended that this idea should be studied, especially as regarded aviation. It was emphasized, however, that it could be no more than a police force under the direction and exclusively at the disposal of an international authority.

The events of the 1930's inevitably brought about a serious loss of prestige and importance for the League, mainly as a result of the Italo-Abyssinian war of 1935 and the failure to apply effective economic sanctions. In 1935 the IPU adopted a resolution on "neutrality and assistance" in which it was stated that hostilities in contravention of the Covenant of the League and the Briand-Kellogg Pact affected the fundamental interests of the whole community and that solidarity of all the States against any nation guilty of such an aggression was an essential condition in the pacific organization and development of the community. The resolution stated that the conception of neutrality was modified by this fact. The resolution concluded that it was absolutely necessary that a unified opposition to aggression be brought about in the shape of a multilateral agreement, in which each country would previously state the form and the extent which the assistance furnished by it would take. In a resolution from 1936 the IPU noted that the prestige of the League had been severely damaged and appealed to the groups to study the question of the consolidation and, if necessary, the reorganization

of the League. The Conference in Paris in 1937 took up the question of membership of the League. A resolution stated that every effort must be made to bring about the universality of the organization, and that the Assembly and the Council of the League must in any case endeavour to find the means of bringing about closer co-operation between member States and those outside the organization.

We shall now consider the achievements of the IPU during the inter-war years in its original field of interest, that of *international law*. A substantial interest was devoted essentially to two questions, namely the codification of international law and making war a criminal offence.

The question of the codification of international law was taken up after the First World War by the League, which set up a special committee of experts for its study. In a resolution dated 1925 the IPU welcomed this initiative, but emphasized the importance of commencing the work by drawing up a detailed general plan. The Conference gave the Juridical Committee the task of submitting proposals on this subject at a later date. The same Conference also instructed the Committee to work out a proposal for a declaration of the rights and duties of States. According to the resolution such a declaration would both have a value in itself and be a concrete contribution to the future codification of international law. Such a declaration, in fourteen points, was later adopted in Berlin in 1928. In the previous year the Union, in a new and more detailed resolution, had returned to the general question of codification. It was noted in that resolution that the expert committee of the League had recommended a successive policy, commencing with a series of questions which, in the opinion of the experts and according to the declarations of a considerable number of governments, seemed to be regarded as ready for codification. The Union wholeheartedly supported this recommendation and expressed the wish that a first conference for codification should be summoned as soon as possible. All States should be invited to this meeting, including those which were not members of the League. At the same time the recommendation of a precise working plan was repeated, and the necessity for continued careful preparation was emphasized.

A conference called by the League met at the Hague in 1930, but it did not follow the advice of the Union to set up and follow a

definite plan, and little of importance was achieved. On this account the IPU recommenced its work in this field. At the Conference in Geneva in 1932 a resolution based on a report by Henri La Fontaine was adopted, which presented the outlines for a general code of international law. This was to consist of an introductory declaration of the rights and duties of States, collectivities and individuals, followed by four main titles with together twelve chapters. A resolution from 1935 directed attention once again to this question and called upon the groups to work for the success of the project.

We have already mentioned that the aim of the Briand-Kellogg Pact in 1928 was to outlaw war, and that the IPU gave its full support to the Pact and decided to investigate the legal consequences it should give rise to. The idea itself was, however, of older date and had on two occasions been adopted in IPU resolutions. In the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which was presented within the League of Nations in 1922 as a part of the early disarmament efforts, wars of aggression had been characterized as "an international crime". This conception won immediate support within the IPU and was taken up in a resolution by the 1924 Conference. The Union directed an appeal to the groups to press for the inclusion in their national constitutions of rules implying a prohibition against acts of war, which did not find support in the Covenant of the League, and a duty to adopt peaceful means for the settlement of disputes with other States.

The Union did not drop the question after the 1924 resolution, but continued its work. The driving force in this respect was the Rumanian lawyer and parliamentarian Vespasien Pella, who at the 1924 Conference was one of the main speakers on the subject. At the next Conference, at Washington-Ottawa in 1925, he presented a report with which was attached a proposal for the basic principles of an "International Penal Code". The proposal consisted of 18 points and contained certain definitions dealing with the actions, of States and individuals, which should be criminated and the sanctions which should be considered, against States and individuals. The Conference declared itself in favour of Pella's proposal and decided to set up a sub-committee to study the social, political, economic and moral causes of wars of aggression, to find practical solutions for the prevention of such actions and to draw up a preliminary draft of a code in accordance with Pella's intentions.

The work which had been commenced in 1925 had still led to no resolution when the previously mentioned new initiative was taken in 1930 as a result of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. This was followed up at the Geneva Conference in 1932. Rapporteur was once more Vespasien Pella, who saw his efforts crowned with success in a resolution on the harmonization of the internal law of States with the Pact. The groups were asked to place before their respective Parliaments draft amendments to their internal law with the object of inserting in their constitutions the rules, which had been recommended in 1925, and of introducing into penal legislation provisions for the punishment of violations of these rules and certain other acts which incited to war, disturbed international relations or increased the tension between certain countries. The resolution also expressed the wish that the League might fully realize the expediency of concluding an international convention providing for the introduction of such penal rules and ensuring closer cooperation between all States with a view to the universal prevention and repression of acts of the types mentioned.

The question of methods for the peaceful solution of international conflicts did not assume the same prominence in IPU deliberations during this period as they did during the first 25 years of the Union's existence. They were instead the object of continuous attention and of several important initiatives on the official, diplomatic level and within the League of Nations. Among the most important events in this field one should note the General Act for the Pacific Solution of International Disputes, drawn up in direct connection with the Briand-Kellogg Pact and signed in September 1928. In a special resolution the IPU Conference in 1930 directed an appeal to all States to give their full adherence to the General Act. During this period, however, the Union did not itself take any concrete initiative in this field.

With the question of the outlawing of war and the work to realize this aim by constitutional changes, we have reached a new field of activity for the IPU—one of its most important from the inter-war period onwards—namely *constitutional and parliamentary questions*. Among those who made notable efforts in this field may be noted Henri La Fontaine, who was chairman of the Juridical Committee during the whole period.

The 1924 resolution on parliamentary control of foreign policy

was the first adopted by the Union in this field. The choice of subject was a natural one, as according to current opinion the lack of insight into governments' methods of dealing with foreign affairs had been a decisive factor in the outbreak of the First World War. This point of view was also developed in detail by the German professor Walther Schücking as rapporteur. The resolution recommended several measures to strengthen the influence of Parliaments, among them the setting up of special foreign affairs committees, and the submission to Parliaments of all treaties and other agreements with foreign powers, even if the approval of Parliament was not required by the constitution.

During the subsequent years the Union devoted constant attention to parliamentary development in the world. A number of resolutions express its concern with the tendencies to undermine and oppose the democratic system of government which came to sight, as well as its determination, by means of concrete suggestions, to assist in overcoming these currents and removing the defects which had arisen in the functioning of democracy. Already in 1925 the relevant committee had been given the task of drawing up a report on the parliamentary system in the different countries. The 1928 Conference adopted a resolution in which, while emphasizing its neutrality in current conflicts and respecting the internal affairs of States, it declared that "the principle of representation of the people by freely elected parliamentarians" was "the very foundation of the work of the Union" and affirmed its disapproval of every illegal act committed with the object of abolishing the parliamentary régime.

Against the background of the acute crisis which parliamentarism and democracy were going through, the Conferences in 1930, 1933, 1934, and 1935 adopted detailed resolutions concerning measures to strengthen and improve representative methods of government. The first resolution was cautiously formulated. It emphasized the difficulties of making general statements, pointed to the impossibility of finding uniform solutions in view of the different national traditions and customs and restricted itself to listing, in six points, questions which the Union had studied and whose solution would "be of the greatest influence on the future of representative and democratic institutions". It brought up questions such as the preponderance and independence of Parliament and Government with regard to organizations and groupings of different types, the decentrali-

zation of executive tasks to regional or local authorities, school instruction on methods of government, reliable press information about Parliaments, and improvements of parliamentary technique.

On the question of the origins of the 1933 resolution, we refer to what has previously been stated about the Council meeting in the spring and the dissolution of the German Group. In the resolution adopted by the Conference in the autumn single-party States were condemned, and the Union confirmed its wholehearted support for the democratic method of government based on universal suffrage and free elections. Furthermore the attention of the groups was drawn to certain improvements which could be achieved in the parliamentary system, presented in seven points. Firstly, measures were suggested for achieving a more stable government, mainly by introducing the right to dissolve Parliament. Further, it was recommended that a definite time-limit should be set for Parliaments' discussion of budgets, that consultative bodies should be created with the task of collaborating in the drafting of bills, principally in economic matters, and that economic, social and intellectual interests and employers' and workers' organizations should be represented in one of the chambers, perhaps by constituting a chamber on such lines. Beside this, the special recommendations concerning decentralization of certain activities and improvements in parliamentary technique were repeated, and the organization of a national and international legislative information service proposed. In a special resolution on the ratification of conventions the wish was expressed that the Government should have the duty of communicating immediately to Parliament all international conventions which it had signed, so that ratification might take place within a fixed period which should be as short as possible.

Many of the suggestions put forward were repeated in the 1934 resolution. New ideas also appeared, however. Proposals were made for time limits on speeches in budget debates, proportional party representation on committees, furthering of governmental stability by the adoption of an electoral system making for the formation of large parties, fixation of guarantees to eliminate surprise votes, separation of political and judicial powers and strengthening of the independence of Parliament by rules concerning immunity and a parliamentary indemnity sufficient to ensure the independence and dignity of elected representatives.

From the 1935 resolution we should mention the recommendations for a sharp distinction between legislative and executive powers, and the emphasizing of the paramount importance of the work done within parliamentary committees.

During the last years before the Second World War the Union also dealt with some concrete constitutional problems. A detailed resolution on parliamentary disqualifications was adopted in 1937. Parliamentary control of public finance was the subject of a lengthy resolution of eight points in 1936. Certain limits were recommended as regards parliamentary initiative in the matter of expenditure, which should be made conditional either on the support of a certain number of members, or on agreement with the government, or on coverage suggestions. Furthermore, the importance of finance committees was emphasized, while pointing out that they should not be a consistent cause of delay in the work of Parliament. A unified budget was definitely preferred to specialization of revenues, an annual budget to a two-year budgetary period. The importance of subsequent financial control was pointed out, and of accounts being submitted to Parliament without any great delay. Finally, at the 1939 Conference, a resolution was adopted concerning the budgetary year. It was emphasized that no generally valid recommendation could be made but that certain general principles should be observed. It was indispensable, for instance, that the state budgetary year coincide with the financial year of local authorities.

It remains to give an account of the Union's resolutions in the new fields to which its activities were extended during the inter-war years. These represented a wide and disparate sphere: economic, social, humanitarian, cultural and colonial questions. These resolutions comprise roughly one-third of those adopted on non-internal matters during the period. In general they may be said to be of less interest to posterity than those mentioned hitherto. The resolutions on parliamentary and constitutional subjects are worthy of note as original efforts, as no other international body dealt with such questions. And those concerning the development of international law and peaceful relations between States deserve to be mentioned as part of a consistent and continuous effort on the part of the IPU from its foundation in 1889 up to the present day. The resolutions we shall now deal with are of a more temporary nature. And concerning all these questions it is a fact that they are being studied—

and were being studied during that period—by other international organizations with greater resources. On this account we shall restrict ourselves to a short survey of the material.

The IPU's resolutions on *economic questions* during the inter-war years express a definite and incessant effort to strive for free international trade and to oppose all barriers erected by States against the free exchange of goods. Already in 1923 the Union emphasized "the urgent necessity of a revision of every measure which, in an artificial and useless manner, prevents or restricts the import and export of produce and of raw materials". In a lengthy resolution in 1924 the Union returned to the subject. The first point was a recommendation concerning the conclusion of trade agreements and transportation conventions, by which restrictions should be abolished and equal treatment be guaranteed to all interested parties. Thereafter wishes were expressed for a radical revision of the existing tariffs system, the working out of common direct rates for international freights and the abolishment of passports or, at any rate, of visa requirements. It may be noted that special resolutions on the passport question were adopted in 1921 and 1927. The 1925 Conference instructed the Economic Committee to study the possibility of abolishing, or at any rate reducing, the economic barriers between the European States. Another lengthy resolution in the same spirit was adopted in 1927.

During the subsequent years, in the shadow of the world economic crisis, no resolutions were adopted having the same general aim as those we have mentioned. At the 1930 Conference the question of international trusts was taken up, and in 1931 and 1933 two lengthy resolutions on the agricultural crisis were adopted. From 1935 onwards, however, the Union returned to declarations of a general economico-political nature. In that year a resolution was adopted dealing with economic solidarity between the nations of the world and on currency stabilization. Regional agreements were recommended in a resolution in 1937. The desirability of closer cooperation between the six Danubian countries, Australia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia was emphasized. It was considered desirable that all European States should participate in such treaties. In the same year a resolution on access to raw materials was adopted, and in the next year one on the most-favoured-nation clause, both based on the Union's fundamental

favour of free trade. The last inter-war Conference at Oslo in 1939 reverted to the question of agriculture, with a resolution favouring the "maintenance and development of small and medium-sized family farms".

Before we leave the economic resolutions we should note that in 1923 and 1924 the Union made certain statements concerning the war damages problem in the spirit of the Dawes Plan and that in 1936 it expressed itself in favour of the further development of the arbitration system in international trade disputes.

During the period six resolutions were adopted on *colonial questions*. Three of these referred to the colonial mandate system, introduced under the control of the League of Nations. The IPU declared in 1923 that it completely supported the principles on which the mandates were based. In a new resolution in the following year, however, various wishes were put in thirteen points concerning the system. Emphasis was placed on giving the inhabitants an intellectual and political education which would prepare them for their country's independence. It was furthermore declared that slavery should be abolished and that forced labour should occur only after a sentence passed by a competent court and according to law. The native population should not be recruited into armed forces other than those required for the defence of the mandate territory, and natural resources should not be exploited except for the benefit of the territory. The Union returned to the mandate question in 1933 and dealt with the requirements for ending mandates. The granting of autonomy must, it was stated, presuppose an effective system of government and certain guarantees for the protection of racial, linguistic and religious minorities, and for military autonomy, to enable it to maintain its territorial integrity and its political independence.

On the question of the colonial system in general the 1924 Conference expressed the view that trade with colonies should be free, that trade in weapons and ammunition must be controlled, as well as trade in drugs and liquor, and that slavery should not be recognized, either *de facto* or *de jure*. These last two requirements were repeated in a lengthy resolution in 1933, which also expressed the wish for the abolition of forced labour, for a general action against the diseases which flourished among the native populations of the colonies, especially in Africa, and for improved education

for native children. Finally a resolution in 1938 was devoted to the desire for general freedom to participate in the exploitation of the natural resources of colonies, having regard to the interests of the native populations.

In this connection it may be noted that during the first part of the period the Union devoted a considerable amount of work to the question of the *protection of minorities* in accordance with the peace treaties. Lengthy resolutions on this question were adopted in 1922, 1923, 1925 and 1930. The second resolution was accompanied by a declaration in eight articles about the rights and duties of minorities.

Resolutions on *social, humanitarian and cultural questions* were mainly adopted during the latter part of the period; there are only two to be noted from the 1920's. The Conference in Berlin in 1928 dealt with problems of emigration and immigration. The wish was expressed for a system of bilateral treaties to reconcile the various points of view of different States and to protect the social and economic interests of emigrants. Seven examples were given of questions which should be included in such treaties. The Union returned to the subject in 1936 and expressed similar wishes. The fight against the misuse of narcotics was taken up in a resolution in 1927, and was followed up in 1932. During the 1930's several resolutions were adopted on workers' protection and the problem of unemployment, with close relation to the work of the ILO. The question of protection for women and children was thoroughly dealt with in 1931, and the limitation of working hours in 1933 and 1934. Three lengthy resolutions on the unemployment question were adopted in 1934, 1936 and 1937, the first dealing with unemployment among young people and the last with the same problem among intellectuals. A resolution in 1939 dealt with vocational training. For one who is not a specialist on these questions it is difficult to see the contents of these resolutions as original. They undoubtedly indicated, however, as did the reports and debates, a serious wish to attack the problems factually and to mould opinion in favour of measures which could contribute to their solution. An example of a resolution on a cultural question was that of 1938 in support of the efforts to conclude an international convention on the rights of authors. As an example of a resolution on humanitarian questions we may mention the 1939 appeal for the support of refugees.

In retrospect, the work of the inter-war years shows a clear line of

development. The first part of the period is coloured by important, concrete contributions to the discussions on disarmament, the codification and development of international law, free trade and increased personal contact between nations. In the parliamentary field an effort was made to increase parliamentary influence in foreign affairs, which fitted well into the general picture of the Union's activity. It is quite natural that the severe economic and political crises during the latter half of the period brought a change in the direction of its work. There are two dominating elements in the later years: general declarations on economic, social and allied questions, and a series of detailed resolutions on parliamentary and constitutional questions, with concrete proposals for reform and statements of principle. While the former lack any great degree of significance taken on their own, the latter mark a new and important field of work, in which the IPU could make a constructive contribution even during a period of crisis.

The post-war period

We have now reached the post-war resolutions. A short survey and grouping of these has been given in Chapter III, and the present account is based on the information given there. We should also recall what has been said on how the growth of membership of the IPU affected the general contents of resolutions, and on the efforts for the greatest possible unity which came to expression in the Union's work.

In Chapter III we referred to a first group of resolutions which dealt with the *problems of world peace in general, disarmament, and the United Nations*. This group is also the largest, comprising 23 of the 87 resolutions under consideration. These resolutions may be said to have been mainly of a fairly general nature. They usually bear the form of appeals to Parliaments, Governments, the UN or the National Groups. They contain general principles, wishes and statements. They express the IPU's peace ideology, but generally lack to a large extent the concreteness and the degree of originality which would make possible a fruitful analysis in the limited space available. In itself this is not unnatural on account of the nature of the subjects and of the aforementioned political situation within the Union. It should, however, be noted that there is a difference com-

pared to the inter-war years, which is apparent from the very beginning of the period, and accordingly during those years when the present political dissensions within the Union did not exist. No real correspondence is found, for example, with the inter-war period's extensive resolutions accompanied by concrete suggestions on the disarmament question. With these considerations in mind we shall restrict our account of the 23 resolutions to a short survey, indicating special points which appear to be of interest.

The first post-war Conference, in Cairo in 1947, adopted a resolution on reparation of war damage and international reconstruction. From its contents we may note a recommendation that payment should be made primarily in natura, and a statement that a country ravaged by war should be entitled to take over all property within its territory which belonged to the aggressor State or any of its allies. A generally worded resolution concerning the defence and consolidation of peace was adopted by the Conference in Stockholm in 1949. The next Conference, in Dublin in 1950, following on the outbreak of the Korean War, adopted two resolutions on the maintenance of peace and on the conditions for a lasting peace. The Union gave its wholehearted support to the UN's intervention in the conflict and emphasized the importance for world peace of strengthening of the UN, of efforts for an international control of armaments, and of closer economic cooperation between the nations of the world. The resolutions were adopted more or less unanimously, as the East European States were not represented. A new peace declaration with a renewal of the Union's support for the Korean intervention was resolved in 1951.

The next two Conferences dealt mainly with problems of a legal and parliamentary nature, among them the question of a World Parliament. We shall return to these questions later on. At the 1954 Conference the Union again debated current peace problems. The situation had now changed. A certain relaxation had taken place, and hopes could be entertained for a return to more normal relations between States within the different power blocs. A sign of this was that three East European States were represented at the Conference. Two resolutions of importance in this connection were adopted. One dealt with the UN. The rapporteur on this question, which led to a long debate, was the Chairman of the Swedish Group, Mr. Rickard Sandler. The main points discussed were the right of veto

of the Great Powers in the Security Council and the universality of the world organization. On the first question it was stated that, even if the UN had not wholly succeeded in its task, an improvement in the working of the organization could not at the present time be expected from "any fundamental change in the principles upon which it was set up". A French proposal for an amendment, implying in fact a recommendation to reconsider the right of veto, was defeated by 229 votes to 155 with 33 abstentions. On the other question it was stated that, although the IPU included national groups from countries both within and outside the UN, the groups were unanimous in believing that the organization could only completely fulfil its mission by as close an approach as possible to universality. An appeal was directed to the Parliaments of the world to influence their Governments to support the admission to the UN of States which applied for membership. This section of the resolution was inserted in approbation of a Hungarian amendment. The majority was as small as 234 votes to 232 with 20 abstentions. The resolution in its entirety was adopted by 269 votes to 120 with 80 abstentions.

The other 1954 resolution of interest in this context dealt with the disarmament and security problems. This was the first time since the Second World War when the IPU, in a special resolution, took up the subject which had stood at the centre for its work during the inter-war years. The Conference welcomed the fact that the Disarmament Commission of the UN had resumed its work. It also declared its conviction that the disarmament question could only be solved within the UN, in connection with a system of collective security. In opposition to this statement a Belgian amendment was proposed to the effect that, irrespective of the work of the Commission, a convention should be signed in which nations bound themselves not to use atomic weapons and to refrain from all experiments with such weapons. This amendment was defeated by 232 votes to 135 with 28 abstentions. An appeal was directed to the Parliaments of the world to strive to ensure that all atomic weapons and everything that belonged to the field of nuclear energy was subjected to effective supervision and control by the UN, and to consider the methods and means of forbidding the manufacture and use of atomic weapons. This resolution was adopted unanimously except in the respect just mentioned.

The 1955 Conference adopted a lengthy resolution on the conditions of peaceful coexistence between the nations. The first section dealt with the "juridical and moral principles" of coexistence, a second with current disarmament and security questions, a third with the development of international relations in the economic field, a fourth with cultural exchange and freedom of movement as means for fostering international understanding. The details may be disregarded in this context. The next year's Conference adopted a new resolution on the problems of disarmament. An appeal was directed to Parliaments to work for a comprehensive agreement, which would include major reductions in the armed forces and conventional armaments as a first step towards the solution of the disarmament problem as a whole, the prohibition of the manufacture, use and testing of atomic weapons and an effective international control and inspection system. Pending the conclusion of such a treaty, attention should be given to the possibility of agreeing on a first instalment of disarmament, especially the conclusion of an agreement for the termination of nuclear test explosions.

No resolution of this type occurred in 1957 but was adopted at each of the following Conferences. At Rio de Janeiro, in 1958, an appeal was made for an international summit conference and a resolution was adopted on the preservation of peace. The latter comprised a section on the atomic weapon problem, which hardly contained anything new and was adopted unanimously. It also expressed the wish for an international police force at the disposal of the UN. This was approved by 371 votes to 104 with 50 abstentions. The Conference in the next year unanimously adopted a resolution favouring increased contact between leading statesmen from East and West, as well as a lengthy resolution on disarmament questions in four sections. Three of these touched on aspects which had not been brought up previously. In the first section the Union again took up the problem of neutrality, which in earlier periods had been dealt with on several occasions from legal points of view. What was now emphasized was essentially the importance of respecting declared neutrality and means available to neutral States to make constructive contributions on the international level. In the two other sections the Conference proposed measures to prevent warlike propaganda, and a round-table conference on decolonization. The 1960 Conference also unanimously adopted a lengthy resolution on the disarmament

question. From the latter we may note the wish for measures to give protection against surprise attacks and to ensure that, after military bases have been abolished and armed forces withdrawn from foreign territory, no nation shall use outer space for war purposes.

The Conference in Brussels in 1961 directed an appeal to the Great Power Governments to commence negotiations on current conflicts. It also adopted a very lengthy resolution, the longest in the post-war period, dealing with conditions for peace. The first section comprised a declaration in twelve lengthy points on the principles which should be observed in international relations. Factually it hardly contained any new points over and above those expressed in previous resolutions during the post-war period. It may be said to constitute a summary of the general peace ideology developed by the IPU. The various points related to the UN Charter, the importance of international law, the problems of peaceful coexistence, the question of atomic weapons, the fight against racial discrimination and for the abolition of the colonial system, the efforts to even out the economic differences between the nations. This part of the resolution was adopted unanimously. The second section examined ways to reinforce the UN as a peace preserving institution. This resulted in six special points, of which five were adopted unanimously. They dealt with the observance of the UN Charter, the efforts towards an agreement on disarmament, assistance to States at their own request to ensure their independence, the use of the International Court and a study of the possibilities of amending the Charter so as to increase the effectiveness of the UN. By 291 votes to 177 with 97 abstentions a point was adopted urging that measures be taken progressively to enlarge the UN by the admission of "such States as qualify for membership under the Charter" and that the question of Chinese representation be resolved without further delay. The third section dealt with principles for the political development of non-self-governing territories. This, in essence, was an appeal for their liberation. A point which stated that the goal of independence might involve an obligation to provide for the constitutional protection of minorities etc. was adopted by 321 votes to 125 with 59 abstentions. The rest of this section was adopted unanimously. Finally an appeal against nuclear tests was adopted by 379 votes to 87 with 10 abstentions.

The Conference in Brasilia in 1962 addressed a peace appeal to

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the Great Powers and adopted another lengthy resolution on disarmament and the security problems. The first section dealt with measures for lessening international tension and contained i.a. a recommendation for the creation of denuclearized and limited armament zones. This was accepted unanimously with the exception of the Swiss votes and 12 abstentions. The second section repeated the wish for an international police force to be placed at the disposal of the UN. Every complete disarmament agreement must include provision for such a force, it was stated in this section, which was adopted by 303 votes to 118 with 25 abstentions. A final section directed an appeal to all States to submit to the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. This decision was adopted by 348 votes to 150 with 30 abstentions.

Another lengthy resolution on the preservation of peace was adopted in Belgrade in 1963. In separate sections this dealt with the means of strengthening the UN, the setting up of denuclearized and limited armaments zones, and the situation after the Moscow agreement on the prohibition of certain types of nuclear tests. The details may be omitted here. All sections were adopted unanimously after several amendments had been incorporated, in some cases with very slight majorities.

The Copenhagen Conference in 1964 adopted a further lengthy peace resolution consisting of two sections, one dealing with steps towards the goal of general disarmament, the other with the UN. The first contained nothing new. The Conference repeated previously expressed wishes for an international police force, denuclearized zones, and general adhesion to the previously mentioned Moscow agreement as well as discussions on its extension to include underground tests. The second part consisted of three sub-resolutions. The first took up the question of adaptation of the UN to the requirements of an enlarged international society by increasing the number of seats on the Security Council and on the Economic and Social Council. The second dealt with an international police force, and the last with the International Court of Justice. The Conference expressed the conviction that more use would be made of the Court if in the election of judges the criterion of independence, as set in the Statute, were always fully respected, if the Court would rule exclusively "in accordance with accepted principles of international law" and if States with limited resources were given financial as-

sistance when necessary. The section dealing with the Court was adopted by 586 votes to 6 with 57 abstentions.

The 1965 and 1966 Conferences dealt with the same general problems. The resolutions which were adopted were concerned with the UN as instrument of international cooperation for peace and disarmament and the methods of strengthening regional security in conformity with the UN Charter. The contents lack real originality. Here we shall merely note that the proposals for multilateral and bilateral non-aggression, peace and friendship pacts were given a fairly prominent place in the last resolution.

We have mentioned in Chapter III that the Lima Conference in 1968 adopted a resolution on the non-admissibility of intervention in the internal affairs of States. The vital part of it was the addition to the original draft, containing a condemnation of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. We have already given an account of the handling of this question at the Conference and of the conflict which arose as a consequence of it.

We shall now transfer our attention to the resolutions which deal with *parliamentary subjects, questions of international law or other legal subjects*. As we have mentioned in Chapter III they are 18 in number. There are also certain borderline cases, which however, have been placed in the group dealing with the problems of the developing nations.

The first post-war Conference, in Cairo in 1947, debated a report by the Egyptian chairman and president of the Conference on one of the classical subjects of earlier years, namely the codification of international law. Several draft resolutions were submitted. They paid special attention to the contributions made to the development of international law through the UN Charter, the different declarations of principle by the victorious Allied Powers in the Second World War, the Charter for the Nuremberg War Criminal Court, etc. The outcome of the debate was, however, that the report was referred to the relevant committee for further consideration. The next Conference adopted a lengthy declaration in 18 points on "Principles of International Morality". The resolution referred to the declaration concerning the rights and duties of States issued by the Union in Berlin in 1928 and was unanimously adopted after a lengthy debate. The question of the codification of international law has never been discussed since.

The next two Conferences, in Stockholm in 1949 and Dublin in 1950, dealt with a subject of international law which has become more and more important as a result of political developments, viz. "unequal treaties". The problem was set out in the introduction to the 1949 resolution as follows: "Certain States have been led, either of their own accord or by force, to sign unequal treaties depriving their Governments, to the advantage of other Governments, of the exercise of certain powers normally belonging to sovereign States, or showing an enormous disproportion between the obligations laid upon the contracting parties." An important difference of opinion arose on the question whether such agreements could be regarded as invalid and therefore could be disregarded, or whether they in principle were binding and should be revised. The latter opinion was rigorously defended by the rapporteur and won the day. After the question had first been referred back to the Juridical Committee by 165 votes to 119, a unanimous resolution was finally adopted on the subject by the Stockholm Conference. In this the wish was expressed that States which gained advantage from such treaties should consent to their cancellation or revision or to their submission to mediation or to arbitration through the machinery provided by the UN Charter. The subject was dealt with again in 1950, mainly with the aim defining cases in which an "unequal treaty" should be regarded as existing. After the debate a short resolution was adopted in which it was repeated that the difficulties arising from such treaties should be overcome by direct negotiation or by application of the afore-mentioned principles contained in the UN Charter.

The 1952 Conference was dominated by subjects within this field. Several resolutions were adopted. The question of closer cooperation between Parliaments, possibly the formation of a World Parliament, was at the centre of the deliberations. No immediate concrete results, however, appeared. Under the common heading of "International Collaboration between Parliaments" two resolutions were adopted which primarily urged for closer cooperation between the national groups' countries, measures to ensure wider publicity for the work of the IPU and to improve its contacts with the official international institutions. They also expressed the wish that the basic ideas of the Union should direct the work both of the regional inter-parliamentary organizations and of the official organs for cooperation between Parliaments, such as the European Council, the Nordic Council

etc. Concrete aims were also put forward in this last respect. For example it was proposed that Parliaments should be free to elect their representatives and that representatives of the opposition should not be systematically excluded. Furthermore it was recommended that close contact should be maintained with the Governments of member States, and that the latter should be represented at all meetings and take an active part in the solution of the problems placed on the agenda. By two other resolutions, linked under a common heading, the Political and Juridical Committees were instructed to study the question of the creation of a World Parliament and the problem of the universal guarantee of human rights, with special attention to solutions by which these rights could be placed under the safeguard of international jurisdiction. All these resolutions were adopted unanimously. Disagreement arose, however, on a related resolution dealing with limits to State sovereignty, proposed jointly by the Political and Economic Committees. This was adopted by 219 votes to 46 with 111 abstentions. The USA was the most prominent opponent. In the resolution it was pointed out that closer cooperation between the democratic nations would be of value for the preservation of peace, but that if such collaboration was to have its full effect, it would require certain sacrifices and certain compensations through a partial relinquishment of sovereignty. The groups were recommended to work in their own countries to bring about the adaptation of constitutional laws with a view to rendering participation in international collaboration more effective, both from the political and from the economic and cultural point of view.

The different resolutions adopted in 1952 led to results especially concerning the question of the protection of human rights. As we shall see further on, this subject has been dealt with by the IPU on several subsequent occasions.

The Conference in 1952 also dealt with a concrete parliamentary question, viz. the control of Parliaments over budgets, a subject which had been dealt with in the 1930's, mainly in 1936. In the unanimously adopted resolution it was noted that this control had become ineffective in several countries because of delayed accounts from the Government, a point ascribed among other things to the disorganization caused by two wars. The Conference pointed out the desirability of improving the situation and listed the follow-

ing six principles: (1) it shall be the task of Parliament itself to exercise control over Government expenditure and to approve the final statement of accounts, (2) the report from the responsible financial committee should be presented to Parliament within two years after the end of the budgetary year, (3) final accounts should be submitted in the same form as the budget estimates to which they relate, (4) if Parliament has any special technical body for budget control, e.g. special accountants, they ought to be independent of the Government and enjoy a status enabling them to discharge their duties with complete impartiality, (5) the ministers concerned shall be responsible for any irregularities brought to light by the control and have the duty to give the necessary explanations, (6) during a current budgetary year parliamentary control might be established by the provision, where possible, administratively of a running audit, and politically by the formation of a parliamentary estimates committee. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

The next year's Conference adopted a resolution on another parliamentary subject also dealt with during the inter-war years, namely the role of Parliaments in foreign affairs. This resolution set forth nine principles and recommendations which may be summarized as follows: (1) Parliaments shall have the right to follow and control foreign policy and to express opinions on it, (2) general deliberations on foreign affairs shall be held in Parliaments at suitable times, (3) members of Parliament shall be free to put questions to the Government on foreign affairs and shall be entitled to obtain the required information within a reasonable period, (4) Governments shall as far as possible keep their Parliaments informed of the development of international negotiations, and members of Parliament should, as far as possible, be included in the delegations, (5) every Parliament shall at all times have access to adequate information about the programmes and activities of international organizations, (6) members of Parliament should, as far as possible, be included in delegations to those organizations, and delegates to representative assemblies should be elected by Parliaments and should include members of the opposition, (7) Parliaments should devise appropriate means to receive, examine and, when necessary, act upon the reports on the work of international organizations issued by their Governments or delegates, (8) when a Government has signed a treaty or any other international agreement, it should submit the

document to Parliament for ratification or approval, (9) Governments should ensure effective coordination of the policies followed by their representatives on international organizations.

A parliamentary subject which had not previously come up for attention by the IPU was dealt with at Helsinki in 1955, viz. the powers of the Speaker in legislative assemblies. In this unanimously adopted resolution it was stated, to begin with, that it was of vital importance for the life of Parliaments that a balance was maintained between the rights of the majority and those of the minority and that the growing tasks of Parliaments made a rational organization of their work necessary. The twofold role of arbiter and of organizer of the parliamentary work should be entrusted to the Speaker. The resolution called the attention of Parliaments to the necessity (1) to ensure the authority of the Speaker through the method by which he is elected, (2) to ensure respect for and immediate execution of the decisions of the Speaker, particularly in matters of the interpretation of the Standing Orders, (3) to give the Speaker substantial powers in the matter of establishing the order of business and in the conduct of the debates, and (4) to eliminate from the Standing Orders every provision liable to encourage obstruction, while strictly respecting the rights of the minority.

Since 1955 the Union has adopted no resolution on any parliamentary subject so concrete as these three. Its other statements in this field have been mainly of two types, those relating generally to the value of and prerequisites for the parliamentary system, and those dealing with the protection of civil rights.

The former type is represented by two or perhaps four resolutions. The 1957 Conference unanimously adopted a resolution on parliamentary control of government. It was declared to be the basic idea of the democratic form of government that Parliament should exercise a continuous control. This presupposes, it was stated, relatively frequent meetings of Parliament as well as the possibility of obtaining the necessary information. The Conference recommended that all political and constitutional systems should endeavour to guarantee the supremacy of Parliament, which should be a true expression of the will of the people. The Conference which met in Brasilia in 1962 expressed in a short resolution its conviction that at the present time no State can be regarded as possessing a true legal system without having a Parliament, and the hope that constitutional regimes, based

on a free Parliament, would soon be established in all States. To this group of resolutions may possibly be added one which was adopted in Rio in 1958 concerning the setting up of representative institutions in the non-self-governing territories, and one adopted in Tokyo in 1960 expressing the hope of a continued favourable development of parliamentary democracy in Asia. Both have, however, been included among the resolutions dealing with the problems of the developing countries.

The question of the protection of human rights was taken up in 1956. An appeal was directed to all Parliaments to pass legislation which provided effective guarantees of the observation of the UN Declaration of Human Rights 1948. Attention was directed especially to the existence of slavery and forced labour and to the retention of prisoners of war after the signing of peace or armistice agreements. In a new resolution in 1959 the Union pointed out the role of Parliament in protecting the rights of the individual. It was also noted that the complete independence of the Judiciary from the Executive is essential for that protection. A special appeal was directed to the National Groups to work for cooperation between Parliaments in order to bring about international jurisdiction as a guarantee that human rights were respected. Another resolution on the same subject with appeals to the UN and to Parliaments was adopted in Copenhagen in 1964. On this occasion, however, the decision was not fully unanimous, as it had been on previous occasions. The resolution was adopted with reservations from the Russian, Albanian, Bulgarian, Indonesian and Rumanian delegations. They declared themselves unable to accept a point concerning the setting up of an International Court under the UN for the realization of the human rights. They stated that the required protection should be provided by the internal jurisdictions of the States, and by international conventions. No such statements were made by the Czech, Hungarian and Polish delegations.

It is worth noting that the cancelled Moscow Conference in 1967 was to have dealt with the question of methods applied in different political systems for ensuring respect for the constitution and the rights guaranteed therein to citizens, either individually or collectively. It was not intended to adopt a resolution, but three reports were to be submitted, one from Belgium and one from Rumania dealing generally with the question from different points of view,

and one from Sweden giving an account of the control exercised by the Ombudsmen of the Swedish Parliament. The subject will probably be brought before the 1969 Conference. The protection of human rights was, however, dealt with in 1968 too. A resolution was adopted unanimously on, among other things, racial, religious, political and economic discrimination.

Of the legal and parliamentary subjects dealt with by the IPU Conferences during the post-war years there remain only four. At the 1961 Conference the question of parliamentary control of international organizations was discussed. The resolution that was adopted mentioned two different forms for such control, which were said to complement rather than to substitute one another. The first implied an increase in the efficiency of national control through constant supervision by competent parliamentary committees of the policy followed by the Government and by the inclusion of parliamentarians in the national delegations. The other proposed the creation of inter-parliamentary bodies with control and supervision functions, and whose members have the opportunity of taking their decisions with the interest in mind of "the international or supranational organization which has been charged, by several countries, with carrying out a common policy in commercial or other matters". The representatives of the East European States reacted sharply against the latter passage, especially the mention of "supranational" organizations. The Russian, Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish and Rumanian delegations voted against this passage, while the Yugoslav abstained. In the voting on the resolution as a whole all these delegates, as well as two French delegates abstained.

The Conference in Brasilia took the most concrete and detailed steps in this field during the latter half of post-war period. In a unanimously adopted resolution a draft convention in eight articles was recommended, dealing with "measures to be taken in the international field against those guilty, in the exercise of public office, of fraudulent enrichment prejudicial to the public interest". The intention was to prevent anyone depriving his State of assets so gained by sending them abroad. Finally, at the 1963 Conference, resolutions were adopted concerning the regulation by international law of the use of space, and concerning measures against racial discrimination. Both were related to work proceeding in the UN, and we shall not go into details here.

The number of resolutions on *the special problems of the developing countries* is equal to that relating to judicial and parliamentary subjects. We shall, however, give an even briefer account of them. The IPU can hardly claim to have made any real original contribution in this field. The resolutions have dealt with the same problems as were discussed in many other connections, mainly in the UN and its special organizations. Almost all of them were adopted unanimously, although in several cases after amendments to the original proposals.

The first of the resolutions on this question was adopted in Rome in 1948 and dealt with the current situation in the non-self-governing territories as viewed from the aspect of the declarations in the UN Charter. In brief the resolution expressed the wish for improved social conditions, mainly through the translation into legislation of the five conventions on the subject adopted by the ILO in 1947. The resolution of 1950 took another line. The Conference emphasized the duty of the colonial powers to guarantee the respect for human rights regardless of race, sex or religion, and rejected all measures aimed at strategic, political or economic advantage in conflict with the interests of the native population. A special appeal was directed to the Parliaments concerned to take practical steps to guarantee the right of native populations to take part in the legislative assemblies and governments of their countries and to develop their ability for self-government and independence.

The Conference in Washington in 1953 adopted a resolution which, as a general principle, set forth the right of peoples to govern themselves and expressed sympathy with the efforts which had been made to realize that principle. In another resolution the Conference pointed out the necessity for international technical and financial assistance. Finally it called specially on the groups "thoroughly to inform parliamentary and governmental circles and public opinion of the necessity of implementing the measures advocated". This decision was adopted unanimously after several primary ballots on different points. By these two resolutions the Union may be said to have definitely entered into its role as an opinion-forming body for the freeing of colonial peoples as well as for international aid to the developing countries. During subsequent years almost every Conference has adopted at least one resolution on such problems. These have also been dealt with in connection with other subjects. As

will be apparent from the foregoing, the problem has been given considerable attention in several declarations on peace and disarmament.

In Vienna in 1954 it was decided to make an appeal concerning the ratification of the afore-mentioned ILO conventions of 1947 on social policies in the non-self-governing territories. When the Union held its first Conference in Asia, at Bangkok in 1956, it was quite natural that considerable attention was given to the problems of the developing countries. A comprehensive resolution was adopted which, in special sections, dealt with the organization of economic life, international cooperation for economic development, the social and political duties of States, the development of education and training of staff for national development work, as well as the role of the administering States to lead the non-self-governing territories to political freedom.

The first Conference in Latin America, in Rio de Janeiro in 1958, adopted the previously mentioned resolution on the development of representative institutions in colonies and one dealing with the investment of foreign capital in the developing countries. Education was brought up again in 1959, and in the following year in Tokyo a resolution was adopted on the future of democracy in Asia, which we have previously mentioned, and also an appeal for measures against colonialism and racial discrimination. We need not go into details, as they amounted mostly to general expressions of opinion. The same is true of the detailed 1961 resolution which had separate sections on economic aid and education, and the 1962 resolution on "the role of international trade in promoting balanced economic and social progress in developing countries", as well as that of 1963 on "the world problem of development". The Conferences in 1964 and 1965 dealt mainly with subjects of a more general economic, social and cultural nature, even though related to the problems of the developing countries. We shall not consider these at present. To this group, however, we may assign a resolution on the application of the UN declaration on colonialism in 1964 and that in 1965 on apartheid, which we have mentioned in Chapter III. In 1968, finally, a resolution was adopted on financial assistance to the developing countries, in close connection with the UNCTAD work.

The resolutions adopted on economic, social and cultural subjects have also dealt with the special problems of the developing countries.

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It may even be said that these problems have been almost continually the theme of, or at any rate one of the main points in, these resolutions. It is therefore impossible to draw definite limits between the different groups. There are, however, certain practical advantages in presenting the material on the basis of some form of classification which links up to some degree with the previous section.

Only the very first of the eleven resolutions on *economic questions*, which we assigned to a separate group, did not relate to the problems of developing countries. This was adopted in 1948 and brought up the question, already dealt with in 1937, of regional economic treaties. The Conference expressed the opinion that such treaties were a necessary prerequisite for the economic solidarity desired between the nations of the world and should form a first stage on the road towards wider agreements. Apart from regional trade agreements other economic arrangements on the regional level were recommended, such as the coordination of production planning and of transport and distribution.

As far back as 1951 the situation and future of the poorer nations formed the centre of discussion also in this field. A lengthy resolution was adopted in that year on the world's food supplies. In this resolution the Union expressed its approval firstly of a short-term plan for immediate aid to countries stricken by food shortages and famine, and secondly for a long-term programme for economic and technical development. The Marshall Plan was pointed out as an example of the initiative required.

During the next five years no resolutions were adopted dealing wholly with economic problems. These did not, however, entirely vanish from the picture. We have already mentioned the 1953 resolution on technical and financial development aid, and that economic aspects were dealt with in the 1955 resolution on the conditions for peaceful coexistence and in the 1956 resolution on developments in Africa and Asia. The 1957 Conference took up a special economic subject, namely the vital problem for the developing countries of bringing about a stabilization of the prices of raw materials. In the unanimously adopted resolution it was stated that the steps already taken by the countries responsible for the non-self-governing territories had yielded only limited results and must be supplemented by action on the international level. The Conference recommended an international conference for the discussion of the questions as well

as special treaties between producing and consuming nations in order to come to grips with the injustices in the existing situation. It is interesting to note that the IPU made such a proposal seven years before the first UNCTAD Conference met.

The resolution which was adopted in 1958 on the principles for investments in developing countries has been assigned to the aforementioned group. In the next year the Union repeated the wish, often expressed during the inter-war years, for the removal of barriers to international trade. A detailed resolution in two sections was adopted unanimously. A resolution in 1960 on "methods of improving the international distribution system for primary products and the relation of their prices with these of manufactured goods" amounted in fact to a repetition of the points of view put forward three years previously.

At the 1961 Conference the Union returned to questions of regional economic groupings. We can now see a certain modification in the points of view. It was noted admittedly that these units played a positive part in the development of international economic relations. It was, however, pointed out that other countries had justified fears about the effects of such groupings and feared a discrimination which would be dangerous for world trade. The Conference expressed the opinion that efforts towards economic cooperation among all States and areas should be encouraged, but that it was essential that the vital interests of other nations should be observed. The latter was expressed in four points, one of which called for a reduction in external tariffs as well as internal consumption taxes and the elimination of quantitative restrictions constituting an obstacle to the import of goods. The resolution was unanimous but for some abstentions.

We have already mentioned the 1962 resolution on the importance of international trade for the progress in developing countries and that of 1963 on the world problem of development, which, of course, dealt to a large extent with economic questions. From 1964 onwards the IPU debates on these subjects have naturally been concerned with the important initiative taken by the UN through the calling of the first Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva in March—June 1964. In the autumn of the same year the Union, at its Copenhagen Conference, adopted a very exhaustive resolution on "the fight against disparities in world economy". It was, in the main, adopted unanimously, with only few abstentions. It is hardly of any

independent interest compared with the statements in the Final Act of the Geneva Conference. It ended in an appeal to the States to turn the recommendations of the Act into a living reality. Corresponding appeals were expressed in the resolutions dealing with future prospects for international economic relations and with cooperation between regional economic groupings, which were adopted unanimously by the IPU Conferences in Ottawa in 1965 and in Teheran in 1966. In other respects they contained little new in relation to previous statements of the Union.

In the group of economic resolutions we have also placed two dealing with facilitating international travel and the extension of international tourism. These were adopted practically unanimously by the Conferences in 1947 and 1959. As will be seen from the above, the Union in this respect followed up traditions from the inter-war years.

Resolutions on *social questions* also relate to the Union's work during the earlier period. We may recall that emigration and immigration were dealt with in 1928 and 1936, and the refugee problem in 1939. The first Conference after the Second World War adopted, after several ballots on different amendments, a resolution on the problems connected with the extensive transfers of population which had occurred. This related to work within the then existing UN refugee committee. In a resolution dated 1950 the Union appealed for ratification of the 1949 Geneva Conventions on aid to the victims of war. The next year another resolution on the refugee problem was adopted, again related to the work within the UN, which was now being dealt with by the High Commissioner for Refugees. The decisions were generally unanimous. Several minor amendments were made, but in no case was a ballot required. A vote was, on the other hand, taken in 1955 on the question of immigration and emigration as related to the distribution of manpower and the struggle against unemployment. The main sections of the resolutions were approved unanimously. Voting took place only on the last paragraph, in which an appeal was directed to the Governments concerned to continue their efforts to resettle the refugees in the countries which had received them or where they otherwise might find a home. The USSR Group, which then participated for the first time, suggested an addendum with reference to a resolution of the UN General Assembly in 1946, which stated that the main task as regards refugees was to

see that they could return to their own countries as soon as possible. This proposal was rejected by 191 votes to 147 with 74 abstentions. The resolution was thereafter adopted by 320 votes to 0 with 25 abstentions.

The question of the Arab refugees from Palestine, which was the point at issue in 1955, resulted in a new dispute in 1957. Another lengthy resolution was adopted on the refugee problem in that year. It mainly resulted in an appeal to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to support certain measures, the most important of which were equivalence of degrees, exemption from certain taxes on registration certificates etc., and that financial assistance should be given to countries which accepted an especially large number of refugees. In one of the previous points a recommendation was made that the UN "give to the Arab refugees the consideration which the justice of their case calls for" and find a solution to their problem. The Israeli delegation proposed that the words "the Arab refugees" should be replaced by "all refugees", but this was rejected by 332 votes to 181 and 52 abstentions. The resolution was thereafter adopted unanimously with the exception of the Israeli votes.

Protection for mothers and children, which was dealt with in 1931, was thoroughly debated and was the subject of unanimous resolutions in 1949 and 1950. Whereas the subject had previously been dealt with from the point of view of industrial safety, it was now regarded from a general social point of view. The Conference in 1950 also took up the question of aid to populations suffering from famine in a resolution which, in the following year, was succeeded by the one previously mentioned on world food supplies. The Conference in Ottawa in 1965 discussed the population problem, immediately before the important conference on the subject held by the UN in Belgrade. A resolution emphasizing the extreme importance of the question was adopted unanimously.

It remains for us to give a brief account of the nine resolutions on *science, education and culture*, which were adopted in the post-war period. That the number is so small is due partly to the fact that the dividing line towards resolutions classified as relating to problems of the developing countries is again somewhat uncertain. Education and training questions have taken a prominent place in these resolutions. The 1966 resolution on research and technology in the service of development also lies on the borderline, whereas some of

the seven to be mentioned here are closely related to development questions.

The first of the nine resolutions dealt with the teaching of history and was adopted in 1950. The wish was expressed that special emphasis should be placed on peaceful cooperation between States and that wars and conflicts should not be exaggerated. The resolution related to UNESCO efforts. The Conference in 1954 referred to the 1938 resolution on the universal protection of copyright and recommended that the groups take action with a view to early ratification of the 1953 Geneva Convention on the subject. In the following year a short resolution was adopted expressing the wish for continued successful work on the extension of the validity of university degrees between States. The 1958 Conference dealt with the intellectual exchange between States and the freedom of information. In the latter respect the resolution was adopted by 446 votes with 79 abstentions. An Argentine addendum was rejected. This is the only occasion on which voting has occurred within this group of resolutions. In Teheran in 1966 a generally worded resolution was adopted on "the application of science and technology to economic development". The Conference in Lima dealt with "Parliament's role in elaboration and control of national science policy". A resolution was adopted with certain recommendations to the legislative assemblies concerning the procedure to ensure that their new responsibilities in the field of science are fulfilled.

The last three resolutions, adopted in 1959, 1964 and 1966, are to some extent related. They deal with upbringing and education in a spirit of peace and international understanding, educational problems and the struggle against illiteracy, and the utilization of television and other modern technical aids for the education of children and adults in a spirit of peace and friendship between peoples. The problems are general ones, and this is not unnaturally true also of the statements by the Conferences. There is hardly any reason to go into details of their contents. It should, however, be noted that they gave expression to the IPU's already expressed interest in cooperation with UNESCO.

The short survey of the results of the post-war inter-parliamentary work which has now been completed seems to prove the general statements made in Chapter III. It cannot be doubted that the resolutions cover a larger area than those of the inter-war years and

that the expressions of opinion have therefore had a more general and attenuated content. The resolutions on the problems of world peace in general, on development questions and other economic, social and cultural subjects have during this period had a greater quantitative dominance than during the previous periods. Questions of international law and parliamentary problems have, at least relatively, lost somewhat in importance. At the same time it is fairly clear that it is in this area that the most interesting resolutions are to be found. It can also be seen quite clearly that the latter half of the period cannot qualitatively compare with the former. The completely changed political situation within the Union has left its mark, something which was almost inevitable. From the earlier years we note a series of concrete resolutions, primarily those on international legal problems in 1948 and 1949, and the parliamentary problems in 1952, 1953 and 1955. The last ten years show hardly any counterpart with the exception of the 1962 proposal for a convention on measures against receivers of bribes, etc. The IPU has assumed a successively more pronounced character of a general forum for debate and the formation of opinion. We cannot today judge whether this will be permanent or merely a transient tendency, caused by external circumstances.

Chapter V

Present Organization and Working Procedures of the IPU

The purpose of this chapter is to review the structure of the IPU and to see how it works. Much of this, admittedly, will already have been evident from the account of the development of the organization. On the other hand, it has not been possible in earlier chapters to consider the various rules in detail.

The rules of the Union and its various organs are set out primarily in the Statutes and also in the five sets of Rules for the Conferences, the Council, the Executive Committee, the Study Committees, and the Bureau. The five latter will be referred to by the abbreviations RConf, RCouncil, REC, RSC and RB. Apart from the main contents of the Statutes and Rules certain information will be given on practice and on the budget of the Union.

The presentation will be arranged as follows. After a brief glance at the statutory functions of the Union and its possibilities of action—its “ends and means”—the membership and national groups will be dealt with. We shall then go on to the various organs of the Union: the Council, the Executive Committee, the Study Committees and the Bureau. Thereafter will follow a section on the Inter-Parliamentary Conferences. It has seemed desirable to give an account of these against the background of the various organs, for it is on the preparatory, investigatory and administrative work of the latter that the Conferences work. Finally a few facts will be given concerning the Union's budget.

Ends and means

The Statutes specify three aims for the Union (Art. 1): to promote personal contacts between members of all Parliaments, to work for the firm establishment and development of democratic and parlia-

mentary institutions, and to advance the work of international peace and cooperation.

The first of these aims is fulfilled by gathering together representatives of the member groups at Conferences and Council meetings. In principle two inter-parliamentary meetings are held every year, a Council and Study Committee session in the spring and a plenary Conference in the autumn.

The two other functions shall, according to the Statutes, be implemented by uniting the members in common action for the specified goals, "particularly by means of a universal organization of nations". This latter point clarifies the attitude of the Union to the UN: it has accepted as a chief task to support the UN—as previously the League of Nations—but it is an independent body and not a mere auxiliary organization. And there are good reasons to note the word "universal". It was inserted with deliberate purpose in 1922: the reason was that certain States, particularly the USA, remained outside the League of Nations.

Concerning the second of its aims it is stated that the Union shall make suggestions for the development of parliamentary institutions with a view to improving their working and increasing their prestige. Concerning the third, the Union shall study and seek solutions for all questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action. These formulations indicate the chief means of action available to the Union. As an unofficial organization it cannot make decisions binding on Governments. It can only make statements of opinion and present proposals. This is done in the form of resolutions adopted at the Conferences or, in the intervals between them, by the Council. Their importance is dependent principally on which national groups support them and the extent to which they work for their implementation in their home countries.

On occasions the thought is advanced that the Union should attempt to make a direct, active contribution to peace and not merely pursue the indirect method of moulding opinion. No such initiative, however, has been put into effect. Two examples of impulses in this direction were the unrealized decisions at the Council meetings in the spring of 1967 and 1968 to send delegations to Vietnam and to the Middle East.

Membership

The IPU was originally composed of individual parliamentarians. It has retained its unofficial character and is thus not an "inter-governmental organization". In one respect, however, it has undergone an important change of principle: it no longer consists of individual persons but of national groups. Until 1922 both groups and individual parliamentarians were members of the Union, which, as has been seen, had a significance as regards the right to participate in Conferences.

The rules concerning membership are set out in the much disputed Article 3 of the Statutes. This states in the first paragraph that "the Union shall be composed of National Groups constituted in Parliaments functioning as such within the territory of which they represent the population, in a State recognized as a subject of international law". The third paragraph states further that groups "in States not represented in any other Parliament have the right to join the Inter-Parliamentary Union". In the fifth paragraph it is established that it is for the Council to decide on the admissibility of any new group, but the Executive Committee shall first have determined whether the group fulfils the conditions for admission.

The application of the rules for admission of a group into the Union has been the subject of much dispute. Three points are clear, however. Exiled groups cannot be admitted into the Union; this principle was established after the long drawn-out troubles concerning the representation of Spain. Nor can Parliaments in component parts of Federal States be represented. There is no doubt, moreover, that the Union is extremely liberal in its interpretation of the expression "Parliaments functioning as such". Heated struggles have been waged, on the other hand, on the question of "a State recognized as a subject of international law".

In 1961 the Council made a decision concerning the interpretation of Article 3. It unanimously decided that solely juridical and not political principles should be applied, that universality should be striven for—a fairly obvious conclusion, it may seem, in view of the desire of Article 1 for a "universal organization of nations"—and that the Union should not be influenced by the actions of other international organizations. All these principles have been set aside in practice.

In practice it has happened that conditions have been imposed on the grant of membership. An example has already been given, when the Group from the Republic of Korea had to agree not to claim to represent the whole of Korea. On several occasions, too, it has happened—the first being in 1962—that membership was granted on condition that the application documents were completed later. A pure decision of principle, however, was refused in 1957.

The Statutes contain no rules concerning withdrawal or expulsion from the Union. Several examples have been given of formal withdrawal, the latest in 1950. Cessation of membership through cessation of existence of a State has occurred several times, the last being in 1958 when Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic. In many cases, too, membership has been regarded as *de facto* annulled or “suspended” when a Parliament has been dissolved as the result of a coup d'état.

As stated in Chapter III the suspension procedure has evolved in practice and has no express support in the Statutes. After a vacillating practice over a period of ten years, the following seems now to be established. If the Parliament of a country ceases to function, the group is considered to be suspended, which means that it cannot participate in the work of the Union. Previously the Executive Committee took the decision but now both it and the Council decide. When the Parliament is reestablished and the group wishes to resume its activities, the Executive Committee reports to the Council, which makes a decision.

The absence both of rules and of precedential debates causes some uncertainty concerning several points relating to suspension. The procedure would appear to be based on the reasoning that, if only groups formed in “Parliaments functioning as such” can be admitted as members, then a group shall not continue to participate in the work of the Union when there is no longer a Parliament functioning as such in its country. This, however, implies an addition to the Statutes. The condition that a functioning Parliament exists etc. applies to admission, not to continued membership.

It should be noted, then, that groups of this kind are not formally expelled. They are, instead, regarded as suspended. In practice, however, the difference is not great. One may speculate as to whether a question of readmission of a suspended group would be otherwise dealt with by the Council and Committee than an application for

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membership in the case of a "controversial" group. There is reason to be sceptical about the possibility in such a case of making a distinction between suspension and expulsion. So far, however, the Union has been spared from disputes in conjunction with suspension and resumption of activity.

As long as a group is suspended, its *de facto* position is nearly the same as if it did not belong to the Union at all. Of importance in this context is that, by a decision of the Council in 1955, no other official observers are accepted at the Conferences than those from inter-governmental organizations. Only an occasional exception has been made.

It has sometimes happened that a group, which has been granted membership conditionally, has been suspended. This must be considered equivalent to cancellation of the first decision. This is also how the situation was interpreted by the Council with regard to Korea in 1961, as appeared from Chapter III. In the autumn of 1963 groups were admitted from Algeria and Jordan subject to the submission of further particulars concerning their organization. Delegates from Algeria also took part in the Conference. As the formalities were not completed, the applications were declared to be suspended at the spring meeting of the Council in 1964. A new and more complete application from Jordan was later accepted at the autumn meeting of the Council in 1964.

We have gone so extensively into the questions of acquisition of membership and suspension because both rules and practice suffer from a serious lack of clarity and have caused numerous disputes and may cause still more. This has contributed to the problems facing the Union today. We have mentioned in Chapter III that the Lima Conference in 1968 decided to set up a special committee to consider the principles for admission of groups into the Union.

National groups

Concerning the formation of national groups the following may be noted. Every group shall appoint a board and adopt statutes. In any one Parliament there shall be no more than one inter-parliamentary group. A Parliament as such may constitute itself a national group, a possibility adopted in several countries, the first being the USA. The groups are usually based on voluntary membership, however, which naturally may extend to all members of the Parliament. The

alternative, that a Parliament constitutes itself an inter-parliamentary group, naturally implies a greater measure of official constraint.

Concerning the membership of individual parliamentarians in the groups the Statutes state the following (Art. 4). Every member of Parliament is entitled to join its national group. Membership is retained after relinquishing parliamentary mandate by a member who has been a member of the Council or who has rendered distinguished service to the Union and is admitted on this ground as honorary member of the group by the Council on the recommendation of the group. It should be mentioned that in 1964, at the suggestion of the Executive Committee, the Council made a decision concerning the status of honorary members, namely that they should not participate in debates except by special decision of the Conference, nor should they exercise voting rights nor be appointed members of the Council or Executive Committee.

Under the Statutes (Art. 4) every person who joins the group formed within his Parliament, in doing so signifies his assent to the aim of the Union as defined in Article 1. The exclusion of a member, however, seems hardly compatible with the stipulation that all members of Parliament may be members of their national group.

Under the Statutes it is the duty of every group to make a financial contribution to the Union (Art. 3) and to use his best efforts to ensure that action is taken on resolutions adopted at the Conferences (Art. 5).

The groups shall make yearly reports to the Bureau. Before the end of March they shall submit a report of their activities and a list of their members (Art. 3), and at the latest one month before each Conference they shall report on the action taken to carry resolutions of the preceding Conference into effect (Art. 5). From the annual report of the Secretary General, however, it appears that these duties are carried out rather as a routine matter than with any measure of ambition, insofar as they are observed at all.

The activity of the national groups was under consideration at the Council meeting in September 1967. The Secretary General presented a special report in which he analysed annual reports submitted by the groups. It will suffice in this context to note that the report confirmed what has been stated previously, namely that interest lies mainly in the work at the Conferences and Council meetings, while the groups' activities in their own countries are

usually less conspicuous. Only 45 groups out of 66 had reported at all on their work. The Council unanimously adopted a draft resolution on the subject, presented by the Belgian and Yugoslav members of the Executive Committee. The proposed resolution expressed regret concerning the meagre activity and emphasized the importance of national efforts on behalf of the Union. The Executive Committee has been commissioned to study the report and to present proposals arising out of it. Finally the Executive Committee and the Secretary General have been instructed:

(a) to strengthen relations between the Bureau and member Groups as far as possible, and more particularly by visits made by members of the Bureau;

(b) to submit to National Groups suggestions concerning programmes of work that they could usefully undertake according to the possibilities and conditions existing in their country;

(c) to organize at the next Inter-Parliamentary Conference a meeting of Secretaries General of National Groups so that they may have an opportunity of discussing their problems and experiences.

The Council

According to the Statutes (Art. 13) the Council consists of two members from each regularly constituted national group. Having regard to current suspension practice it should be added that only active groups may be represented on the Council. The groups delegate their own members. They also appoint replacements should a member die or resign. The Statutes now require that all members of the Council shall hold a parliamentary mandate. Until 1956 the rule was that only one of the two members of a group needed to be a present member of Parliament. A member who is unable to attend may according to the Rules (Art. 3) be represented by another member of his group duly authorized to that effect. In practice this is arranged without any undue formality. Notification of each group's members of the Council shall be submitted to the Bureau and a list is published for each Conference and placed on its record. At the meetings of the Council the names of delegates at each session are entered on a list taken round by a Secretariat official. It does not appear to have happened on any occasion that an objection has been raised against the authority of a delegate. The rule of authorization is, however, desirable in an awkward situation, which might easily arise with the present number of members.

The Council elects its President (Art. 14) who is regarded as the head of the Union, being by virtue of his office also President of the Executive Committee. Whereas the ordinary members are appointed for the period from one Conference to the next, the President is elected for three years and may be re-elected, in such case for two years. A Vice President is appointed by the Executive Committee from among its members at a meeting immediately after each Conference (RCouncil Art. 2).

The Statutes stipulate that the election of President shall take place during a Conference. This rule caused trouble in 1967, for a new President should have been elected at the cancelled Moscow Conference. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the President had resigned at the beginning of the year as he had lost his parliamentary mandate, and that the Vice President, who had been elected by the Executive Committee after the Teheran Conference in 1966 and automatically became Acting President, was next on the list to retire from the Committee in the autumn of 1967 and according to the Statutes could not be re-elected. In this troublesome situation, after a lengthy debate during which various opinions were expressed concerning the proper application of the rules, the Council decided to prolong the provisional state of affairs by one year. Another member was elected to the Acting President's seat on the Executive Committee. It is, to say the least, doubtful whether this procedure can be considered to have been formally correct, but there does not appear to be any point in discussing the matter further in this context.

The Council decided in 1948 that the President's national group should have the right to appoint two members of the Council in addition to the President. The President is in principle not deprived of his vote in the Council, but by extrapolation this could, it would seem, only be used in the event of a tie vote as in the Executive Committee.

The attributes of the Council are listed in the Statutes (Art. 15) under fourteen points. The chief, annually recurring attributes, however, are six in number, the last of which is not listed in the Statutes: 1) to fix the agenda of Conferences and, if desired, to propose resolutions, 2) to propose the members of the Executive Committee, 3) to select the place of meeting—and according to the Rules for the Conferences (Art. 1 and 4) also the dates—of Conferences, 4) at the

proposal of the Executive Committee to fix the amount of the Union's budget, 5) in general to take any steps necessary to realize the aims of the Union, comprising the right, in the interval between Conferences, to make a public declaration of opinion in the name of the Union with regard to international problems which come within the field of action of the Union, 6) to decide on questions of membership of the Union.

No comment is required on points 2), 3) and 6). Point 4) has an interest in principle since in international organizations on the parliamentary pattern it is usually the general assembly which fixes the budget. That this attribute has been allotted to the Council emphasizes its character of a representative assembly, just like the Conference, even if constituted in accordance with other rules. The organizational tripartition of the IPU between—apart from the Bureau—the Conference, the Council and the Executive Committee is an unusual feature. The normal pattern is a division into two bodies, a general representative assembly and an executive body. Attribute 5) of the Council, moreover, means that *de facto* it acts for Conferences in the intervals between plenary sessions, which emphasizes its particular character.

The import of point 1) has been discussed in the historical chapters and need merely be summarized here. The fixing of the agenda of Conferences is perhaps the most important task of the Council. This occupies much of its time and often leads to disputes. The chairmen of the Study Committees may attend Council meetings with consultative powers when questions concerning the work of the Committees are being discussed (RCouncil Art. 4), which is of significance chiefly for the fixing of the agenda but also when the Council studies draft resolutions for presentation to the Conference. The Council may itself propose resolutions for the Conference, have the other resolutions communicated to it, and recommend the Conference to adopt, amend or reject proposals by a private member or group. The Council rarely proposes resolutions for the Conferences except on internal questions. The only instances since the war have been a resolution adopted in 1960 concerning problems of colonialism and race discrimination, two appeals for peace in 1961 and 1962, and a brief expression of the desirability of a peaceful solution of the Kashmir question in 1965.

The great practical significance of attribute 5) has been evident

from the previous account. Through the possibility of adoption of resolutions on various subjects the spring meetings of the Council may in reality very closely resemble Conferences on a smaller scale. We have mentioned that two important resolutions were adopted in the spring of 1966 concerning regional cooperation in Europe and the Vietnam conflict. At the spring meeting of 1967 two other resolutions were adopted—apart from the previously noted resolution concerning a delegation to Vietnam—one being the desirability of a treaty prohibiting the spread of nuclear weapons, the other an appeal for support for the International Tourist Year proclaimed by the General Assembly of the UN. In Dakar in 1968 the Council adopted two resolutions on the Middle East crisis. Concerning the other attributes of the Council it may be mentioned merely that it creates Study Committees, appoints the Secretary General and decides concerning honorary membership of the national groups.

The following may be noted concerning the meetings of the Council. The Council meets at least once a year and also whenever the President of the Executive Committee deems it necessary or six members so request (RCouncil Art. 1). In practice the Council has two "regular" sessions a year. One starts on the first day after the Easter Holiday, the other on the day before the Conference opens and in addition on one of the last days of the Conference. Place and date of the session are decided by the Executive Committee, which also fixes the agenda (RCouncil Art. 5). The members may, however, request the insertion of other points on the agenda, which shall be taken into consideration if the request reaches the Bureau not less than fifteen days before the meeting. This rule is of great practical significance. Extra subjects for discussion are proposed at every meeting, and it is often precisely the major questions for debate which are brought up in this way at the initiative of individual groups. At the meeting in September 1967, for example, the Middle East crisis was discussed at the request of four groups. Proposals received later than stipulated may also be allowed, but only by a two-thirds majority decision of the Council and after the opinion of the Executive Committee has been heard.

The proceedings of the Council are in principle not public. There are no regulations on this point, but the rule was established in practice. At the Council meeting in Copenhagen the Secretary General recalled "that debates of the Inter-Parliamentary Council are not

public and that the participation of each Group, therefore, is limited to its two appointed members, if necessary assisted by an adviser, a translator or a secretary". The last sessions, however, have been open to the public after a decision by the Executive Committee in 1966.

No rules have been issued concerning the debates. In practice the Council is considered to have the authority to decide on restrictions. At the Geneva meeting in 1967, for example, it was decided that speakers who presented draft motions or other proposals should be allowed 15 minutes and other speakers 10 minutes. It often happens that the time allowed for a debate is fixed in advance. Sometimes, even, all debate on a certain subject is disallowed. Elections to the Executive Committee, for example, are held without any speeches in favour of the five candidates being allowed.

As regards the decision procedure it has merely been stipulated (RCouncil Art. 6) that members shall have one vote each, that decisions shall be reached by a majority vote, and that there shall be a secret ballot for the election of the President, Secretary General and candidates for the Executive Committee. In practice the Council considers itself free to employ a secret ballot in other cases as well, such as the afore-mentioned ballot concerning the admission of the Mongolian Group in 1959. Decisions are usually reached, however, by a show of hands or by a roll-call of the delegates. It should be noted that votes are personal. It happens very often that the two votes are divided within a delegation.

Of the remaining Rules of the Council there is only one (RCouncil Art. 11) of a practical significance which deserves mention here. In the interval between sessions the President or the Executive Committee shall, if necessary, consult the Council by correspondence. To constitute a decision of the Council, answers must be received from half the groups represented on the Council. It was this procedure which was employed in the summer of 1967 when the Moscow Conference was cancelled.

The Executive Committee

As regards the Executive Committee, the Statutes set out its composition and state that the Committee is the administrative organ of the Union and exercises the powers delegated to it by the Council (Art. 16 and 17).

The Committee consists of eleven members, the President of the Council being ex-officio President of the Committee. Several rules are designed to guarantee that assignments alternate between the groups. The members shall belong to different groups. In elections to the Committee an endeavour shall be made to ensure a fair geographical distribution. Members are elected for four years and cannot be re-elected. Nor can any other delegate from the same group be elected until two years have elapsed. In the case of death or resignation the practice is that another member is appointed by the same group. Thus no group can be represented for a continuous period in excess of four years, but the President, as noted, can hold his appointment for five years.

For election to the Committee the candidate must be a member of the Council; consideration shall be given to the contribution made to the work of the Union by the candidate and his group.

The Committee is successively renewed. At least two members retire every year.

Members are elected by the Conference. In years when no Conference is held, the Council elects the new members. This rule has been applied only on one occasion, in September 1967. In the case of death, resignation or loss of parliamentary mandate, or of a member's election as President of the Council, the Council designates a successor who remains a member until the next Conference only. A change which takes place under these circumstances does not break the succession of retirement, but the new member finally elected by the Conference holds the appointment only for the remainder of his predecessor's mandate. It has happened on several occasions that a member has been considered to have resigned because his Parliament has been dissolved. The first precedential decision was made by the Council in 1959.

The Statutes prescribe that the Conference is bound by the proposals presented by the Council and that candidates shall have indicated their willingness to accept the mandate before their nomination is considered by the Council. In the Rules for the Conferences it is added (Art. 14) that candidatures shall be communicated to the Secretary General in writing at least one full day before the meeting of the Council at which they are to be considered, and that if any candidate does not obtain a majority of the votes, the Conference shall request that the Council put forward new proposals.

Immediately after a Conference the Committee shall nominate one of its members Vice President of the Council (RCouncil Art. 2).

Concerning the functions of the Committee apart from the general provisions as related above, the Statutes prescribe merely that it shall deliver reports on membership questions (Art. 3) and that it shall fix its own regulations (Art. 17). This latter point may appear surprising as, from the statutory association of its authority with the decisions of the Council, the conclusion might be drawn that the Council should draw up some form of instruction. This has not been done. The Council's own Rules, however, contain certain clauses concerning the Executive Committee, as already mentioned, viz. concerning the appointment of a Vice President, and concerning certain business connected with the work of the Council and the drawing up of budget proposals (RCouncil Art. 2, 5 and 12). The two latter functions are among the most important of the Committee. An equally important function is contained in the Rules for the Study Committees (RSC Art. 4 and 7): the Executive Committee shall establish the agenda for the Study Committees and shall convene sub-committees. The Rules of the Executive Committee itself state (Art. 2), furthermore, that it shall supervise the administration of the Bureau, a regulation which was earlier contained in the Statutes and, in fact, belongs properly to them.

The functions of the Executive Committee can naturally not be listed in full. The Executive Committee is, briefly, the administrative organ of the Union. We have encountered it in several contexts in the historical account, e.g. in its dealings vis-à-vis the UN, which were criticized in Cairo in 1947, its handling of membership questions and its action in connection with the cancellation of the Moscow Conference.

The Rules of the Executive Committee state essentially the following concerning its meetings and working procedures. It shall meet in ordinary session at least twice a year and may also be convened if the President deems it necessary or if two members so request (Art. 3). A member unable to participate may be replaced by his colleague on the Council (Art. 4), the same procedure being followed in the event of the death, resignation or loss of parliamentary mandate between sessions of the Council. The Committee may hold valid deliberations and take valid decisions only if five participants are present (Art. 6). The number of substitutes may never exceed half of the

participants at a session. The Secretary General, in agreement with the President, shall draw up provisional agenda for each ordinary session and communicate it to the members one month in advance; the latter may request the inclusion of additional points in the agenda (Art. 9). The final agenda is established by the Committee at the start of each session. Only questions included in the agenda may be the subject of discussion and a debate may not be reopened on a point on which a decision has been taken (Art. 10). Decisions are taken by majority vote, the President or his deputy exercising his right to vote only if the votes are equally divided (Art. 7). In case of urgency the President may consult the members by correspondence. At least five replies must be given for the result to constitute a vote (Art. 8).

Under Article 17 of the Statutes the Executive Committee may summon the Council in case of emergency. It can also consult the Council by correspondence (RCouncil Art. 11). Both of these functions were exercised in the summer of 1967.

The Study Committees

These are mentioned in the Statutes only in Article 15, which states that the Council may create permanent or temporary Study Committees. The five permanent committees were appointed by the Council in 1960. Their names and chief duties have been mentioned earlier. The Rules for the Conferences speak of "the committees which the Conference may decide to form" (Art. 9). This clause no longer has a practical significance, however.

National groups may be represented on each Committee by one member and a substitute (RSC Art. 2). No rules exist concerning their period of mandate or concerning the official announcement of the names of representatives. In practice the procedure is that delegations decide which of their members shall attend the various committee meetings. A list is circulated at meetings on which the names are entered. Substitute members have the same speaking rights as full members but may vote only in the latter's absence (RSC Art. 2).

Each Committee appoints a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen (RSC Art. 8). Officers are elected each year by an absolute majority of the votes cast. If there is more than one candidate a secret ballot is held. When a Chairman or Vice-Chairman has served for four

consecutive years, two years must elapse before he can be re-elected to the post. In order to ensure, as far as possible, a fair distribution of these posts among the groups, it is stipulated that the same group may not hold more than one post simultaneously. Members of the Executive Committee are not eligible. These regulations, as also that each Committee shall have as many as two Vice-Chairmen, are a reflection of the rise in membership in recent years.

The Committees may create sub-committees and designate their members (RSC Art. 3), not exceeding seven. A sub-committee may be appointed for a fixed period or for a specific mandate. Of great practical significance are the drafting committees which are appointed to prepare resolutions or give form to a resolution or a proposed amendment. These are often sub-committees, but the Council may appoint a special committee for a resolution which the Council itself intends to adopt or propose for adoption by the Conference.

The task of the Committees is to prepare reports and draft resolutions for submission to the Conferences (RSC Art. 5). The Rules for the Conferences (Art. 4) stipulate that questions placed on the agenda shall, except in urgent cases, be submitted to the Committees to enable their immediate discussion at the plenary sitting. This rule is impracticable, however, since some points are drafted by the Council and Executive Committee, and moreover a question is not placed on the agenda before the Committee has completed its work on it. The rule does, however, reflect the importance attached to the work of the Committees.

Special rules exist to guarantee that the Committees do not lose a grasp of their business during the subsequent work on it. It has already been mentioned that, according to the Statutes (Art. 15), the Council shall merely be informed of the Committees' draft resolutions but has no power to recommend to the Conference their acceptance, rejection or amendment. And when an amendment has been presented at the Conference, it may, at the request of thirty delegates or of the rapporteur, be referred to the competent Committee for an opinion, which shall be given within twenty-four hours (RConf Art. 13). It may also be mentioned that the Committees have the power, but only with the approval of the Council, to propose that an already debated question be resubmitted to the Conference (RConf Art. 13).

The terms of reference of the various Committees are determined

by the Council (RSC Art. 1). Their agenda are drawn up by the Executive Committee, which shall take note of the recommendations made by the Committees themselves and the proposals submitted by the groups.

Without being convened the Committees shall meet during each Conference and may be convened by the Executive Committee in the intervals between Conferences (RSC Art. 1). In practice they now always work in conjunction with the spring meetings of the Council. On the other hand they were not convened in conjunction with the Council meeting which replaced the Moscow Conference in 1967. Sub-committees are convened by the Executive Committee, which also establishes the Union's contribution towards the expenditure involved (RSC Art. 4).

The Committees shall appoint one or more rapporteurs for each question (RSC Art. 5). The purpose of the reports is (Art. 6) to give an objective outline of the Committee's work and to present any draft resolutions proposed by it. Reports may be presented by a minority of members and subjoined to the reports of the Committee.

Committee decisions, with the exception of elections as noted above, are taken by a show of hands or by standing and sitting (RSC Art. 9). The Chairman decides on the method of voting. A simple majority is required. In case of doubt as to the result of a vote, a roll-call may be taken. Should votes be equally divided the proposal shall be considered rejected. The Chairman may vote only if his delegation has no other representative. A vote cannot be taken unless at least half of the national groups participating in the Conference or spring session are present in the Committee. For sub-committees (RSC Art. 3) four members shall constitute a quorum.

The Bureau

The Inter-Parliamentary Bureau is the permanent central office of the Union. Its main functions according to the Statutes (Art. 18) are to prepare questions to be submitted to the Council and Conferences, to distribute the necessary documents and to provide for the execution of the decisions of the Council and of Conferences.

The Rules assign to the Secretary General a number of special functions, such as to see that the work of the Committees is finished (RConf Art. 5), to assist the Steering Committee in ensuring the

effective organization and smooth functioning of the Conferences (RConf Art. 6), to submit for each Conference a report in the name of the Council on which the general debate shall be based and which shall bear in part upon the general political situation in the world (RConf Art. 8), to organize the secretariats of the Conferences and of the Committees (RConf Art. 11), to issue to each delegation at the beginning of each Conference a card indicating the number of votes to which it is entitled (RConf Art. 15), to keep the minutes at sessions of the Council (RCouncil Art. 7) and at meetings of the Executive Committee (REC Art. 11), to draw up a provisional agenda and to communicate it to the members of the Executive Committee (REC Art. 2), etc. The "members" of the Bureau are specially enjoined (RConf Art. 9) to assist the President in directing the work of the Conference in general, in instituting the committees which the Conference may decide to form, in deciding what communications should be made to the Conference, and in fixing the agenda of each sitting the order in which the different questions shall be considered. The Bureau as such shall act as secretariat of the Study Committees and sub-committees (RSC Art. 11).

The Conferences

The IPU shall according to the Statutes (Art. 6) and the Rules for the Conferences (Art. 1) meet in plenary session once a year unless the Council decides otherwise. Place and date shall be fixed by the Council, if possible at the preceding Conference. The Council shall issue summons to the groups at least three months in advance. An extraordinary Conference shall be summoned by decision of the Council or if at least six groups so request (RConf Art. 2). This has never happened. The duration of each session shall be fixed by the Council in agreement with the group which is to receive the Conference (RConf Art. 4).

Concerning participation, the Statutes (Art. 7) state that Conferences shall be composed of delegates nominated by the groups. Each group shall nominate a number of delegates equal to the number of votes to which it is entitled. The Council may, however, decide that any member of a group may attend a Conference and take part in the debates if the group of the country, in which the Conference is to meet, so requests and if special circumstances render such a deci-

sion desirable. Apart from the official delegates, observers are invited from certain international organizations, including the UN and UNESCO. According to present practice, however, countries without national groups may not send official observers. This was earlier allowed and the observers could both take part in the debates and, as appears from the Conference records, make proposals and take part in decisions when not taken by roll-call of the delegations. The present principles derive from the Council's resolution of 1955. In several cases, too, requests to send observers have been refused, as happened in 1964 in the case of the Republic of Vietnam and in 1967 in respect of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the German Democratic Republic. An exception was made, on the other hand, at Rio de Janeiro in 1958 for representatives from Canada and Uruguay, who were given the status of official observers but without the right of speaking or voting. Likewise in 1962 Colombian observers were accepted at the last moment before the opening of the Conference.

The statutory rules on the allocation of votes (Art. 10) have already been discussed. It may be recalled merely that a group can have at least eight and at most twenty-two votes and that the right to exercise these votes shall, when necessary, be distributed within the delegations according to a system of proportional representation in order thereby to give expression to different shades of opinion. A schedule of the number of votes to which each group is entitled is included among the preliminary documents always despatched to the groups in advance.

The group of the host-country shall, by arrangement with the Secretary General, be responsible for the material organization of the Conference (RConf Art. 3). In the account of the cancellation of the Moscow Conference we spoke of the agreements which are concluded concerning the practical arrangements and of the rules for invitations and visas. The agreements customarily contain rules also concerning the reception and accommodation of delegations, conference premises, interpretation arrangements, secretariat, documents, press service etc. They also specify the distribution of expenses. It is for the Council, however, to judge whether it is necessary for the Union and the national groups to contribute to the expenses (RConf Art. 3).

The preparation of Conferences by the Council, the Study Com-

mittees and the Bureau has been earlier discussed. It is stipulated in particular (RConf Art. 5) that the Committee reports shall be sent out one month in advance. In practice the preliminary documents contain, in addition to all draft resolutions and Committee reports, also the Secretary General's report, convocation, agenda etc.

The Statutes state (Art. 8) that Conferences shall be opened by the President of the Council or, in his absence, by a provisional President elected by the group of the host-country and that the Conference shall then elect its President and Vice Presidents. Proposals concerning the President and Vice Presidents of Conferences shall be made by the Council (Art. 15). In practice the chairman of the group of the host-country is now always elected President of the Conference. As many Vice Presidents are elected as there are groups represented (RConf Art. 6). The chairman of each group is paid the honour of this distinction. A Steering Committee, composed of the President of the Conference, the President of the Council and the Vice President of the Executive Committee, with the assistance of the Secretary General, is responsible for taking all necessary measures to ensure the effective organization and smooth functioning of the Conference proceedings (RConf Art. 6).

The agenda of the Conference, as noted, is fixed by the Council. Other questions than those brought up by the Council may also be dealt with. For this the Statutes (Art. 9) require that the Conference by a two-thirds majority decides to authorize their discussion after hearing a summary explanation from the originators of the motion. It is thus quite difficult to bring up a new question.

The first point on the agenda is the election of the Steering Committee, and the last points usually the election of members of the Executive Committee and the composition of the Council for the subsequent year, the latter point comprising only a notice. For each item of debate a report is submitted, possibly several. Certain items also include draft proposals, but it often happens that a subject is discussed without a motion being proposed. Among the reports the Secretary General's is presented first. According to the Rules (Art. 8) every Conference shall open with a general debate based on the Secretary General's report, which shall contain a review of the political situation in the world. The general debate does not culminate in a resolution but may be combined with a discussion on a draft resolution. This is obviously appropriate when a Study Committee submits

a question on which the debate may be expected to be as general and comprehensive as the general debate. At the Lima Conference, for example, a report on the application of the UN declaration on the unacceptability of interference in the internal affairs of States, culminating in a draft resolution, was debated simultaneously with the report of the Secretary General. This arrangement happened to contribute to the conflict which arose, as it became possible for the opponents against the invasion of Czechoslovakia to take up this question not only in the debate but also in amendments to the draft resolution.

The Conference debates are public (RConf Art. 7). They shall be private only if relating to individual persons and if decided by a two-thirds majority.

The official languages of the Union are English and French. Speeches may be delivered in other languages, but the speaker must then arrange for interpretation. At all meetings—including those of the Council and Committees—there is now simultaneous interpretation into English and French. In addition, if technical facilities exist, the groups can themselves arrange for interpretation to other languages. The technical apparatus usually suffices for three additional languages. On various occasions the desire has been expressed for other official languages, on the last occasion Spanish. In 1963 the Executive Committee was commissioned to study the question, but the practical difficulties were found to be too great.

The Rules specify certain restrictions in respect of debates and also entitle the Conference to decide on additional restrictions (Art. 8 and 10). In the first place it is stated that the general debate may not last for more than three sittings unless the Conference decides otherwise by a two-thirds majority and without discussion. Furthermore no member shall speak more than twice on the same subject. This does not, however, apply to rapporteurs. They may speak whenever they deem it necessary. Others shall speak in the order in which the applications to speak are made. The time allotted to each speaker may be limited by a simple majority decision taken by the Conference without preliminary discussion. In practice matters have been taken further: the number of speakers is limited and special decisions are not always taken. Certain principles are laid down in the official convocation. The normal rules are as follows. Not more than two representatives of each delegation may participate in any debate.

If there is only one speaker, he is allowed 10 minutes. If there are two, they are together allowed 15 minutes, neither being entitled to more than 10 minutes. The fact that a delegation submits an amendment to the draft resolutions being discussed does not give any right to additional speakers or speaking-time. A further restriction of great practical significance is the regular practice of appointing times when the lists of speakers for the various debates are closed.

These restrictions are naturally a consequence of the great increase especially in the number of delegations. Further measures for improving the procedure at Conferences were decided in 1966, when the Council decided essentially the following points: (1) apart from the general debate, not more than one debate may be held at a Conference on a general international question; this shall lead to the adoption of a resolution; (2) the agenda shall always include a parliamentary question; this debate may be prepared either by the Juridical and Parliamentary Committee or by the association of Secretaries General of Parliaments and need not terminate in a resolution; (3) in order that these severe restrictions shall not have a discouraging effect on the Committees, other subjects may be brought up under a new, limited procedure. The latter implies that only the rapporteurs are allowed to speak and that the matter is then referred back for further consideration by the Committee, after which any draft resolution is decided by the Conference without debate at a new meeting. This new procedure was not considered to require an amendment of the Rules. It may be mentioned that the agenda for the Moscow Conference contained two points for handling by this procedure, one comprising a report and draft resolution, the other three reports but no draft resolution.

Even before the 1966 decision the Rules (Art. 13) permitted the consideration of a draft resolution by an abbreviated procedure. This involved so drastic an abbreviation, however, that it hardly complies with the view that the Study Committees should not be discouraged by limitation of the number of general debates. For the procedure implies that no debate at all may occur. The condition for its adoption is that the proposal has been submitted to the groups two months in advance and that a two-thirds majority of the Conference decides to bring it up for consideration. An example of the use of the procedure was given in Chapter III concerning the resolution of 1964 on the protection of human rights.

It must be pointed out that the debates at the Conferences—partly by reason of the rules referred to concerning speakers—hardly have the character of debates in the proper sense. To a large extent they consist of a series of speeches. The possibility of a direct exchange of opinion between particular speakers is practically non-existent. There is no right of repartee. Only the rapporteurs have a fairly free standing. In comparison with the Conferences the Council proceedings are very much freer and more like ordinary parliamentary debates, which is natural in view of the smaller number of delegates.

The Rules contain detailed directions concerning the functions and powers of the President (Art. 9 and 10). He shall open, adjourn and suspend the sittings, shall see that the regulations are observed, call upon the speakers, put the questions to the vote and make known the results of divisions. He may call a speaker to order who does not keep to the subject under discussion and may, if necessary, withdraw permission to speak. He has powers to deal immediately with any incident during a sitting and shall take any measure necessary to restore order. His decisions are final and must be accepted without discussion.

The Rules also contain special directions for the Secretary General (Art. 11). He may be assisted or represented by one or more substitutes. He or his substitutes may, by request of the President, submit to the Conference supplementary reports on any question which the meeting has under consideration and may be asked by the President to make oral communications on any question before the Conference.

A normal feature of Conference proceedings is that delegates ask questions of order. The mover of a point of order shall be requested by the President to make a brief statement of motives (RConf Art. 10). A decision shall then be taken immediately without discussion unless the assembly decides otherwise.

Another important feature is the proposed amendments of draft resolutions presented during the debates. The rules for dealing with such matters by the Committees have already been mentioned. It should also be mentioned that, in special debates which may occur concerning proposed amendments, the only speakers heard, unless the President decides otherwise, shall be the author of the amendment, the rapporteur for the Committee and a speaker holding the contrary opinion, if any (RConf Art. 13a). This rule is of practical

significance chiefly when a question is referred back from a Committee to which it was referred by reason of a proposal for amendment. The same rule applies to debates on questions of procedure.

Amendments shall be voted upon before the text of the motion to which they relate (RConf Art. 13a). Two counter-proposals are never made.

The decisions of Conferences are reached by a majority vote of the members present, which is done by a show of hands or, at the request of any delegate, by a roll-call of the delegations (RConf Art. 14 and 15). If there are no or few opponents to a proposed decision these formalities are obviously unnecessary. In such case the President merely declares that a decision has been reached by unanimity with certain exceptions which are enumerated. The election of officers is by secret ballot if not less than twenty members so demand.

Explanations relating to votes are permissible, but not concerning amendments or motions on procedure (RConf Art. 13a).

According to the Statutes (Art. 10) a delegate may record not more than five votes. There is reason to bear this in mind when reading the Conference record. In some cases voting figures are presented both by a show of hands and by a roll-call. The difference may be very considerable: far fewer votes are recorded in the former case than in the latter.

We now come to the closure of the Conferences. It is stipulated (RConf Art. 17) that at the close of each Conference the President shall enumerate the principal resolutions adopted which it is the responsibility of the groups to present to their respective Governments and Parliaments in a suitable form. The statutory responsibilities of the groups in this respect (Art. 5) have already been mentioned.

A printed record for every Conference is issued by the Bureau. As from the 1966 Conference this record is issued in two volumes, the first comprising the preliminary documents, the second the actual Conference proceedings. The latter includes, *inter alia*, all speeches as recorded stenographically and edited afterwards by the speakers (RConf Art. 16).

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the Rules for the Conferences (Art. 18) contain a statement of principles for dealing with unforeseen situations, namely that "the customary rules in deliberative assemblies shall be applied". In case of disagreement the Standing Orders of the popularly elected Chamber of the country in

which the Conference is being held shall be consulted. The former point was presumably intended to relate primarily to parliamentary assemblies but possibly also to the League of Nations.

Budget

The IPU is an inexpensive organization. Its total expenditure in the budget for 1968 was fixed at only 756,000 Swiss francs, of which 372,000 for salaries, etc., 55,000 for the year's Conference and 30,000 for the spring session. Among other items are mentioned one for 30,000 francs to the international symposium to be held at the Documentation Centre in the autumn of 1968 as mentioned previously, the same amount as contribution to the Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments and 10,000 francs for journeys undertaken by members of the Bureau. The latter item is strikingly low. The publications are calculated to cost 30,000 francs but to bring in 12,000.

The rules for calculation of the national groups' contributions may be left aside in this context. It may be mentioned, however, that seven groups out of sixty-seven account for more than half of the contributions: the USA 108,900 francs, the USSR 73,700, the British 51,700, the French and the German 43,450 each, and the Italian and the Japanese 33,000 each.

Some words should be said also about the special budget drawn up for the Documentation Centre. This is very modest, amounting to only 87,000 francs, of which 65,000 for staff. The expenses are covered by a contribution of 5000 francs from a private fund, 33,000 francs from the Union's own reserve fund, and 49,000 from the national groups. Unfortunately it has been difficult to obtain special contributions from the groups for this purpose, so that the activity hitherto has had to be on a modest scale.

Mention should also be made of the Union's official journal, the *Inter-Parliamentary Bulletin*. It has been published since 1926 and is now issued four times a year in English and French. The French edition runs to 1900 copies and the English to 1550.

Final Remarks

We have now finished our account of the development of the Inter-Parliamentary Union during its nearly 80 years of existence, and of its achievements and working procedures. It has not been possible to convey any idea of how the future of the organization will develop. At the present time, it finds itself in a difficult situation, characterized by internal conflicts of opinion. The next few years will be decisive for the future of the Union. It is not possible to make any predictions but a few brief remarks will be noted here, by way of conclusion.

The problems which the Union faces today are not unique. Most international organizations have met with them during the period following the Second World War. They are connected first and foremost with the creation of a great number of new States and with the conflict of ideas between East and West. The difficulties have, however, become particularly great for the IPU, due to historical circumstances. Two features are of particular importance: The completely unofficial nature of the Union, right from its inception, and the changed pattern of its work.

Our account has shown that the Union's history is divided into three phases, which are not only separated in time by the two World Wars, but which also display such marked divergences that it is almost necessary to speak of the IPU as having appeared in three different forms. During the first quarter of a century, from 1889—1914, the Union had a limited membership, a clearly defined field of work and a definite aim. It constituted a link in the organized peace movement, it based itself on the initiative and idealism of private parliamentarians, and it worked for the preservation of peace and the organization of the relations between the States on the basis of international law. Right up to the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War, the Union only dealt with questions which concerned international law and justice. During the second phase, from 1921—1939, the basis for work was radically changed. The inception of the League of Nations and the Interna-

tional Court of Justice meant that the need for a body with the old objectives of the IPU was considerably reduced and instead, the organization became increasingly a general forum for debate, where any kind of international question could be brought up. Economic, social, parliamentary, cultural and other matters were included in the agenda. Due to the fact that the circle of members remained limited and essentially homogeneous, the Union was nevertheless able to make definite contributions to the general development. Its significance was, however, diminished, depending also on the creation of a large number of other international organizations. During the latest phase, hitherto covering the years 1947—1968, the working conditions of the Union have once more been radically changed.

The membership is now approximately three times the original, the old homogeneity has gone, and political differences have arisen within the organization which it had never previously experienced. This was inevitable — the IPU must also be adapted to meet the changes in our world. But the process of adjustment and adaptation has also necessarily presented problems. It seems to be difficult to deny the fact that the IPU has suffered all the disadvantages of its unofficial status, without being able to make use of the benefits which are conceivable. Anyone who studies the history of the Union during recent years can hardly fail to observe that the restrictions imposed on groups by the official policy of their respective countries have been very evident. The disputes about representation of the divided countries are illuminating. Generally speaking, the unofficial nature of the Union seems hardly to be taken into consideration when the groups express their points of view, nor has any greater freedom of action been evident than in inter-governmental organizations. On the other hand, the IPU has suffered all the disadvantages which are associated with the lack of official status: inadequate activity on the part of groups in their home countries, and above all, lack of economic resources, the latter being of decisive consequence. The Union's exceptionally limited budget—especially in comparison with inter-governmental organizations—is a strong handicap for its work.

Special problems have also ensued from the changed objectives of Union's work. We did mention that the IPU has more and more appeared as a forum for contacts and debates. Any questions of an international nature can be raised. As a consequence of the increasing membership and the disparities between various political opinions

the deliberations have often provided more of interest than the resolutions adopted. This has no doubt constituted a weakness for the IPU. One may, however, not disregard the fact that the IPU has functions which are not dealt with by any other organization. In accordance with the Statutes, it should work for the consolidation and development of parliamentary and democratic institutions. We have proved that on various occasions the Union has taken several initiatives in this field during recent years. It has, however, been hampered by the internal conflicts of opinion and by the lack of economic resources. Also, in spite of the efforts made, parliamentary questions have fell into oblivion in favour of other matters, where the Union's prospects of achieving results are much slighter. There is every good reason to deplore this state of affairs.

In the part of the world from which the author of this book emanates it is a common point of view that the IPU has a valuable mission to fulfill. A forum for contacts between the Parliaments of the world can contribute towards detente and understanding between nations. It is also urgent to work, on an international basis, for the development of democratic and parliamentary institutions. One might therefore hope that the important decisions which are imminent will be preceded by impartial deliberations in a positive spirit. This refers not only to external matters, such as the principles for admitting new members, or the forms for the Union's dealing with current world political problems, but also to the fundamental principles for the organization, its structure and its aim.

What has been expressed here should not be regarded as a pleading for the IPU to devote itself entirely to parliamentary matters or renounce its unofficial status. The intention has only been to point at some fundamental problems which should not be left out of the discussions concerning the future of the organization.

Appendix:

The Inter-Parliamentary Union

Member-Groups and Conference Participants

In Chapters I, II and III, certain general information has been given about the details presented on the seven following pages. We should like to refer the reader to these (in particular pages 27, 41 and 54) and would in addition like to give the following explanations and comments.

Details of the first seven Conferences, for which no special reports were printed, are based on information given in the Union's official publication during the years 1893—1897, "*La Conférence Interparlementaire*". It has been possible to find miscellaneous information for the purpose of verification in other quarters. As from the year 1897, the tables are based on the reports of the Conferences which were published. For the post-war period, minutes of Council proceedings have also been used.

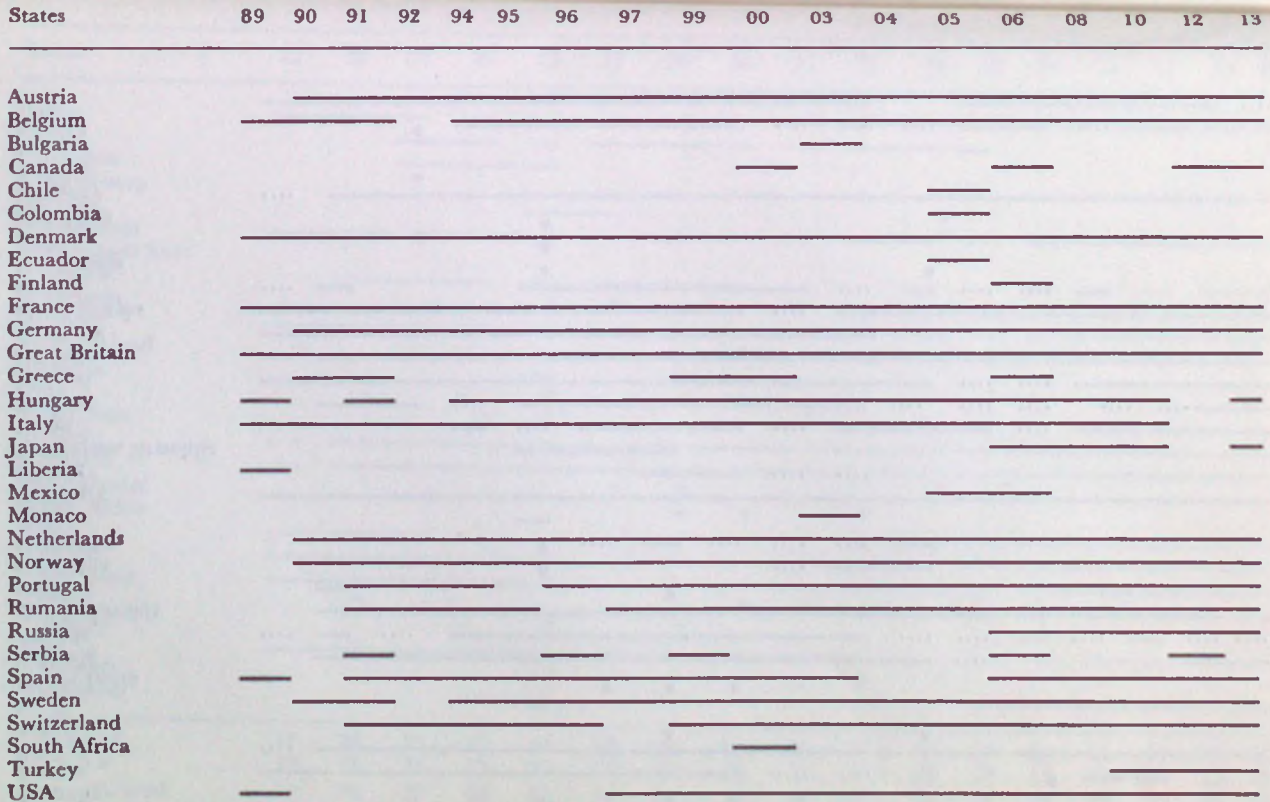
In parts, the material is very incomplete. As regards the *number of foreign delegates* at various Conferences, the figures given in the actual reports do not agree with the lists of delegates. Details given in the tables are based on the latter.

For the *pre-war period*, it has not been possible to supply particulars of member-groups, as no reliable basis exists. Continuous lines indicate which countries were represented at each Conference.

In the tables for the *inter-war years*, a continuous line indicates that a member-group existed and was represented at the Conference certain years. A dotted line (...) shows that it is considered that there is evidence of the existence of a member-group, although it was not represented at the Conference that year. An asterisk indicates that a country was represented at a Conference, but there is no evidence that a member-group existed. In these cases, the delegates must be regarded as observers. In specific cases, markings have been based on several different, often contradictory, sources of information in the Conference reports. Two limitations have been observed in the accounting for the "passive" groups (*viz.* with...). One requirement has been that the country in question was represented at at least two Conferences by a member-group (not by observers). In addition, existing, but "passive" groups have not been shown after the last time when they were represented at a Conference. Four exceptions have been made: for Canada, which did not attend in the years 1938 and 1939, Danzig, since the formal dissolution of the group in 1933 has been con-

firmed (see page 43) and for Italy and Spain which did not attend in 1939.

For the *post-war period*, the same three markings have been used as for the inter-war years, with the addition of an "s", indicating the cases of suspension or other comparable discontinued activity as referred to in Chapter III.



States	9	11	17	12*	15	14	15	15	18	19	18	15	19	23	18	19	18	19
Foreign delegates	39	?	?	76	52	?	172	168	200	201	248	136	177	367	?	300	163	223

* In addition one delegate represented both Honduras and San Salvador

States	21	22	23	24	25	27	28	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
Japan				....												
Latvia					....				....			
Lithuania																	
Luxembourg																	
Mexico											*						
Netherlands									....			....	
Netherlands East Indies					....				....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Nicaragua					*	*											
Norway												....				
New Zealand								*									
Panama																	
Peru					*												
Philippines				*													
Poland	....															
Rumania	....															
San Salvador						*	*										
South Africa							*	*									
Spain	....			....													....
Sweden																	
Switzerland																	
Turkey		*						*	*						....	
Uruguay					*		*										
USA																	
Venezuela					*						*						
Yugoslavia						....					....
States repr.	12	26	26	26	41	33	38	32	20	27	26	18	20	22	24	25	22
Groups »	12	25	24	25	31	30	31	27	19	27	22	18	19	22	24	25	22
» in total	20	25	25	28	34	32	31	28	29	32	28	26	25	27	26	26	25
Foreign delegates	95	288	289	201	238	329	402	362	139	123	139	162	174	218	315	278	275

[illegible]

States	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
Hungary	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Iceland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
India	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indonesia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Iran	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Iraq	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ireland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Israel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Italy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Japan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jordan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Korea (Seoul)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kuwait	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Laos	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lebanon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Liberia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Libya	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Luxembourg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Malawi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Malaysia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mali	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mauritania	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Morocco	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mexico	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Monaco	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mongolia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Netherlands	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Zealand	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nicaragua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Niger	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nigeria	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The post-war period

[illegible]

States	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
Norway																				
Pakistan		—				s	s	s	s				
Panama		*	*									
Paraguay		*											s	s			....	....		....
Peru										s					....			
Philippines	—			
Poland															
Rumania																			
Senegal																				
Sierra Leone																			
Singapore																				
Somalia																				
Spain											
Sudan													s	s	s	s	s	s	s	—
Sweden																				
Switzerland																				
Syria													s	s	s	s
Thailand																				
Tunisia																				
Turkey													s	....				
United Arab Republic														
Uruguay											*									
USA																				
USSR																				
Venezuela		*																		
Vietnam (Saigon)																	s	s	s	
Yugoslavia																				

States etc.	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66
States repr.	24	38	29	34	32	34	33	37	39	39	48	45	50	48	51	47	58	66	60	58
Groups »	24	31	25	30	32	32	29	37	39	39	48	45	50	48	51	47	57	66	60	58
» in total	28	32	33	32	35	36	36	40	46	49	50	56	53	53	57	59	66	67	66	67
Suspended											2		5	6	4	6	5	8	10	12
Fictive number of members											52		58	59	61	65	71	75	76	79
Groups in Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	2	2	4	6	5	5	6	8	14	14	12	14
do Asia	5	8	9	12	12	13	14	14	14	15	16	15	13	12	13	14	14	16	16	16
do Australia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
do Central and South America	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	3	3	4	2	7	7	7	9	8	8	7	8	7
do North America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
do Europe	21	22	22	18	20	20	20	22	26	26	26	26	25	25	25	25	26	26	26	26
Foreign delegates	157	248	174	171	195	263	169	311	326	206	403	239	387	322	398	260	411	508	390	427

Groups admitted 1967: Malaysia, Nepal, Singapore

» suspended » : Greece, Sierra Leone

Group readmitted 1968: Rep. of Vietnam